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ANNOUNCEMENT

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Cover: THAI DANCERS

Thai dancers in costume perform at a celebration held near Wat Mahathat in Nakhon Si Thammarat. The curved fingernails they wear originated in the north.

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Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Educational and Intellectual Thought: An Occidental Interpretation

Douglas C. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This essay, which has been prepared with the western reader in mind, is meant to read straight forwardly, almost as if it were a journalistic account. It attempts to give the reader in the most general way an introduction to the foundations of Chinese intellectual and educational thought and also the unique characteristics that help from Chinese civilization.

Americans have long seen China as both mysterious and wonderful. It is hoped that this article will, for the western reader, clarify various aspects of Cathay, and at the same time contribute to an understanding of the similarities that exist in the human experience.

Chinese education, has a continuous heritage of some two thousand years. Many factors no doubt contribute to this, including the geography of China and the generalization that food supplies in that part of our earth have historically been more abundant than in Europe, Africa, and the other ancient worlds. Yet there are perhaps four broad features of Chinese civilization that, when studied, seem to separate that society's educational legacy

from other nations. The intertwining of education with society makes it difficult to suggest that certain features of nation interplay specifically and actively with the pedagogical process. Reviewing the literature on past and current Chinese education in Republic of China on Taiwan, and reading the history and historical interpretations of that civilization, suggest that certain legacies characterize Chinese education, history and philosophy, and make the educative process most unique.

The features, that are societal in nature but which interplay with two millenniums of Chinese education and culture are: (1) linguistic patterns, (2) Confucianism, (3) the examination system, and (4) family life. It is impossible to determine which of these has had the most profound effect. No doubt other characteristics have also contributed to the vividness of Chinese educational history. These four, however, appear most profound.

LINGUISTIC PATTERNS

Bertrand Russell in his important

book, *The Problem of China* (1922) comes to the conclusion that the Chinese use of ideograms is one of the major features that gives Sinica its distinctive character. Russell, who was in China in the early 1920's as a professor of philosophy at the University of Peking, (and greatly preferred China to Japan), noted that while the written Chinese language (which relies on thousands of characters or ideographs for expression) creates many problems, it also has some distinctive advantages. Other scholars have also come to this same conclusion. It is one of the main qualities that makes the Chinese society and the educative process so unique and one could suggest it has had a profound effect on the stability of that civilization's institutions, particularly its academic vividity.

The Chinese do not have an alphabetical system; that is, letters that are put in a certain juxtaposition to form a word, and hence an idea, do not exist in the Chinese language. Great problems are engendered because of this, such as the use of dictaphones, typewriters, translation of names and foreign words, word processors, and anything that relies on alphabetical order for filing or other conveniences. Yet there are subtle advantages to the Chinese written language over the European and Semitic languages.

The written character to a Chinese represents an idea and not a word. It is essentially self-contained and when put in sequence with other characters it forms a collection of mini-ideas that creates a concept in the mind. The system of the use of ideographics is not totally unique to Westerners; our numerical system is, of course, idea and not sound oriented, and learning numbers is no more or less difficult than learning the alphabet. Phonetic writing, which is currently in vogue in

American education, is quite impossible in a pictorial based language. To acquire a strong language base requires sheer memorization of literally thousands of characters. No short cut exists in this process; words quite simply cannot be sounded — or figured — out. Consequently in China children who become part of the school system must follow the most fundamental of all ways to learn their language — memorization.

The same principles of learning language in China are applied to mathematical skills. Mathematics, incidentally, is seen by many as the purest and highest level of intellectual development. As Dr. Chor-Wen Tan, Dean of Cooper Union's School of Engineering in New York City, has suggested, "Chinese have a high regard for education and a gift for detail and precision that enables them to do particularly well in math. The traditional method of learning in China is memorization, for which there is still a place in mathematics study" (*New York Times*, 1982). There is ample evidence to suggest that Chinese do disproportionately well in the mathematical sciences; their language development, which in the learning process is much like acquiring and understanding of mathematical formulas and which is learned from early childhood, may contribute directly to this.

China has traditionally placed great reverence in age. An equation is often drawn between an aged person and a wise person. Again language plays a part, in that to acquire a large vocabulary in Chinese and hence a greater depth of thought one must spend longer periods of his/her life on memorizing the characters that form the Chinese language. Forty years of study is not unusual to acquire a full vocabulary. Chinese characters can be read throughout the whole literate

Chinese population, even though each province and sub-province has its own spoken dialect, and even today the Chinese can read texts that were written two thousand years ago. European languages of just a few hundred years ago are today virtually unrecognizable. Bertrand Russell suggests that the Chinese language has indeed affected the mentality and learning process of China. He quotes in his book the following, written by Mr. Chi Li in *Chinese Students Monthly* (1922):

Language has been traditionally treated by European scientists as a collection of sounds instead of an expression of something inner and deeper than the vocal apparatus as it should be. The accumulative effect of language-symbols upon one's mental formulation is still an unexploited field. Dividing the world culture of the living races on this basis, one perceives a fundamental difference of its types between the alphabetical users and the hieroglyphic users, each of which has its own virtues and vices. Now, with all respects to alphabetical civilization, it must be frankly stated that it has a grave and inherent defect in its lack of solidity. The most civilized portion under the alphabetical culture is also inhabited by the most fickle people. The history of the Western land repeats the same story over and over again. Thus up and down with the Greeks; up and down with Rome; up and down with the Arabs. The ancient Semitic and Hametic peoples are essentially alphabetic users, and their civilizations show the same lack of solidity as the Greeks and the Romans. Certainly this phenomenon can be partially explained by the extra-fluidity of the alphabetical language which cannot be depended upon as a suitable organ to conserve any solid idea. Intellectual contents of these people may be likened to waterfalls and cataracts, rather than seas and oceans. No other people is richer in ideas than

they; but no people would give up their valuable ideas as quickly as they do. . . .

The Chinese language is by all means the counterpart of the alphabetic stock. It lacks most of the virtues that are found in the alphabetic language; but as an embodiment of simple and final truth, it is invulnerable to storm and stress. It has already protected the Chinese civilization for more than forty centuries. It is solid, square, and beautiful, exactly as the spirit of it represents. Whether it is the spirit that has produced this language or whether this language has in turn accentuated the spirit remains to be determined (Quoted in Russell, 1922, p. 327).

Another important feature of the Chinese language is the general absence of concept of tense. It is impossible in European languages to form a sentence without a verb that places the sentence in a time context, e.g., present, past, future. The modern style of Chinese language, expresses a relative tense. Hence the action or state of being in the sentence is understood by the juxtaposition of words, e.g., the use of a key word that suggests when the action will occur or has occurred. In many Chinese sentences the suggestion of the tense by a key word is absent. The question then is how do Chinese, when speaking, know exactly in what time frame they are dealing. Linguists have come to realize that factors such as the overall structure must be considered if one is to truly understand the Chinese language and its absence of tense. A step further would suggest that the great degree of homogeneity among the Chinese population and the similar lives that so vast a collection of people have lived (and still live) might play a part in their communication skills. Subtle hints, such as body language, symbolic proximity, epistemological parallelism and

precognitions, placing words in a certain order, or indicating key reference points that are universally familiar, all tend to contribute to the understanding in all languages of relative tense but more so to Chinese which is devoid of linguistic cases. It is not yet possible to judge fully to what extent the Chinese language relies on nonverbal or non-written signals but there can be little question that the subtleties of the language far exceed what we currently know (Swanson, 1981).

Perhaps the Chinese language at one time in history had inflections, declensions, conjunctives, cases, tenses, and moods. History, however, does not record these as part of the linguistic heritage. Some 40,000 characters make up the written Chinese language, though most people in Republic of China on Taiwan probably have a mastery of and use for about four to five thousand. The characters of today, which have evolved from pictures and portrayals of events, are highly complex and can explain virtually every thought, idea, mood, expression, and sense that other languages can. The use of overlays of the original primitive pictorial character has created a highly stylized written language that captures every nuance. Perhaps the clearest advantage to the ideographic language form is that it is absolutely separated from the spoken form. Consequently Japanese, Koreans, and others who have their own national spoken languages can read quite easily much of the Chinese language. It also unites the people of China no matter what their local, provincial, or regional dialect. Will Durant, one of the greatest of American scholars, when speaking of the Chinese language makes these observations:

....since written language has

remained essentially the same while the spoken language has diverged from it into a hundred dialects, the literature of China, written for two thousand years in these characters, can be read today by any literate Chinese, though we cannot tell how the ancient writers pronounced the words or spoke the ideas which the signs represent. This persistence of the same script amidst a flux and diversity of speech made for the preservation of Chinese thought and culture. . . . The character of Chinese civilization [as found in Republic of China on Taiwan] is symbolized in this phenomenon of its unique script: its unity amid diversity and growth, its profound conservatism and universal continuity (p.732).

Many have dreamed of a world language that would not infringe on the national preference, that would be free from verbalness, "capable, therefore, of expressing the ideas of different peoples in identical and mutually intelligible ways. But precisely such a sign language, uniting a hundred generations and a quarter of the earth's inhabitants, already exists in the Far East" (Durant, p. 733). And this language, which we in the West find so difficult to understand because of our constructs and biases, has been one key to the splendor of China's civilization in general and its educational legacy in particular.

CONFUCIANISM

Confucius was traveling east and met two children arguing with one another. He asked them what they were arguing about, and one child said, "I say the sun is nearer to us in the morning and farther away from us at noon, and he says the sun is farther away from us in the morning and nearer to us at noon." One child said, "When the sun begins to come up, it is big like a carriage cover, and at noon it is like a

dinner plate. So it must be farther away when it looks smaller, and nearer us when it looks bigger." The other child said, "When the sun comes up, the air is very cool, and at noon it burns like hot soup. So it must be nearer when it is hot and farther away when it is cool." Confucius could not decide who was right, and the children laughed at him and said, "Whoever said that you were a wise guy?" (Quoted in Lin, Yu-tang, *The Wisdom of China and India*, 1942).

Confucius, though not a man of religion, has had on a large portion of the world an influence equal to and perhaps exceeding that of Jesus, Buddha, and Mohammed combined. We know a good deal about this man who lived from 551-479 B.C.; in fact, he is probably the most studied person in the history of mankind.

His life is not dissimilar from many others of the age in which he lived; therefore, reviewing his poor family status, and the relationship he had with his mother (she was unwed and his 70-year-old father died when he was three) and his peers, is of little consequence in studying this historical giant. The most notable aspect of his life and his ideas is that they are devoid of religiosity; Confucius and Confucianism are part of the historical and educational legacy of China and not a part of that civilization's complex religious history.

Confucianism can best be defined as humanism; that is, that the pedagogical writings of Confucius as well as his other philosophical explorations concentrate on certain human values. Confucianism excludes metaphysics and concentrates on the values of human relationships. It was the sage's view that one should first be a good son or daughter, a good brother or sister, a good parent, a good friend, and an honest and humane leader, and "if you

have any energy left after attending to conduct, then study books."

Confucianism consequently becomes a study of human relationships and how through proper behavior, respect, and honor these relationships can create in a society peace, harmony, and happiness. Reasonableness would be the best word to describe how Confucius would ask people to interact. Confucianism suggests that the highest goal a person can seek it to live a moral life and that all other activities are subordinate to this. And this morality that transcends all other dimensions of the human spirit can only be engendered by education and cultural awareness and by a sense of ethical guidelines learned through the cultivation of rituals, poetics, and music.

The test that Confucius would give to any society to determine whether it had reached what he would see as its highest stage of moral development is whether it produces good sons and daughters, good sibling relationships, good husbands and wives, good friends, and individuals who can understand the psychology of their associates and act in such a manner as to reduce rancor and unhappiness. All of these goals, Confucius felt, could be achieved by diligent study of those aspects of life that were themselves worthy, beautiful, and harmonious.

Confucius' ideals for life and existential man were expressed pithily and eloquently in a paragraph from his study, *The Great Learning*:

The ancients who wished to illustrate the highest virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own selves. Wishing to cultivate their own selves, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to

rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.

Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their own selves were cultivated. Their own selves being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy.

Will Durant, who was one of the great admirers of Confucius and Confucianism, suggests that Confucius was able to focus on the essence of life and present a complete guide to behavior. As Durant states:

The world is at war, says Confucius, because its constituent states are improperly governed; these are improperly governed because no amount of legislation can take the place of the natural social order provided by the family; the family is in disorder, and fails to provide this natural social order, because men forget that they cannot regulate their families if they do not regulate themselves; they fail to regulate themselves because they have not rectified their hearts, i.e., they have not cleansed their own souls of disorderly desires; their hearts are not rectified because their thinking is insincere, doing scant justice to reality and concealing rather than revealing their own natures; their thinking is insincere because they let their wishes discolor the facts and determine their conclusions, instead of seeking to extend their knowledge to the utmost by impartially investigating the nature of things. Let men seek impartial knowledge, and their thinking

will become sincere; let their thoughts be sincere and their hearts will be cleansed of disorderly desires; let their hearts be so cleansed, and their own selves will be regulated; let their own selves be regulated, and their families will automatically be regulated — not by virtuous sermonizing or passionate punishments, but by the silent power of example itself; let the family be so regulated with knowledge, sincerity and example, and it will give both such spontaneous social order that successful government will once more be a feasible thing; let the state maintain internal justice and tranquility, and all the world will be peaceful and happy. — It is a counsel of perfection, and forgets that man is a beast of prey; but like Christianity it offers us a goal to strike at, and a ladder to climb. It is one of the golden texts of philosophy (pp. 668-669).

Though the great sage's legacy is not as important today as it was prior to the fall of the Ching Dynasty, Chinese scholars in Republic of China on Taiwan still view his ideas and sittings as the cornerstone of their educational system. The noted Chinese scholar Chang Chi-yun in his excellent study, *Confucius: A Modern Interpretation* (1980), states: "A firm believer in the perfectibility of man, of all men, Confucius took it upon himself to give the common people a chance to share the knowledge which until then had been a monopoly of the nobility. The Chinese people of successive ages have honored Confucius. He was 'most sagely' and deserved more than anybody else our reverence, but he was first of all 'a great synthesizer' having synthesized the cream of ancient Chinese culture and turned it into a spiritual legacy to be shared by all Chinese and mankind" (Chang, 1980, pp. 1-3).

Dr. Orient Lee, one of the most prolific writers and revered scholars in

modern Asia (this writer personally spent a full day in discussions with Professor Lee), offers some insights into the teaching method that Confucius developed in his private school. In Dr. Lee's book, *A Short Biography of Confucius* (1982), the author notes that Confucius as a young man had a insatiable passion for learning. He accepted the sons of ordinary people, many of whom could not afford the elite private institutions of this period, and in his back yard beneath a leafy apricot tree he gathered around him pupils for their lessons. "Neither he nor his pupils were aware they actually inaugurated the first and the greatest private school in Chinese history." Confucius believed that a child's level of education should be attuned to his level of intellectual and physical development. Payment for the tutorial sessions was made by the students bringing with them items of exchange such as wine, silk, foodstuffs, or wood for fuel.

His curriculum consisted of the six arts: music, mathematics, drawing, calligraphy, archery, and ethics (called *Li* and literally meaning *ritual, etiquette, and law*). As the sole teacher at this very idyllic school, Confucius taught all of the subjects himself. By his own admission he learned from his students and from his preparations for his daily sessions. When a student completed his studies he could leave and find employment or return — after experiencing the real world — for further instruction. He was an old-fashioned teacher in many ways. His students were required to respect him and he maintained a proper distance between himself and his charges. This concept of aloofness is not lost on the leaders of modern Chinese government and education. Some three thousand young men had the honor of sitting at the sage's knee; many were to

distinguish themselves in government positions or in the arts. It was Confucius' view that the pedagogical process could best be accomplished by diligent and ongoing practice and repetition. "To practice without thinking is to mislead oneself. To think without practicing, on the other hand, is to plunge into peril."

It was Confucius' view that the success of a teacher and the quality of his instruction were more related to his personal intellectual talents and moral behavior than to the intelligence of his students. Confucius, like many modern psychologists, believed that man was born with a natural goodness and only those who were unhealthy or of unsound intellectual development could not benefit directly from learning and formal schooling. The teacher's quality, therefore, is the essential element in quality education. Professor K.M. Tong suggests in his excellent book, *Educational Ideas of Confucius* (1970), the Confucian model for pedagogical excellence:

a) A teacher should always renew himself. Confucius said, "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring anew, he may be a teacher of others." So he emphasized a teacher's requirements: the silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety, and instructing others without being wearied. Which of these things belongs to me? Therefore one must be continually developing his knowledge anew in order to be able to teach others. A teacher who does not educate himself cannot instruct others. However, if he can only be reviewing old knowledge without increasing any new one, he is too conservative. What he can do to the high extent is nothing but transmit the ancient culture to the next generation. He is incapable and disqualified to fulfill the duty of improving civilization and innovating custom. He can by no means be a teacher be-

cause he lacks an independent point of view, and active effort to renew himself.

b) A teacher should love his students as well as their intellect. Confucius was a democratic educator. He said, "In teaching, there should be no distinction of classes." No matter what class or clan he is whether he is rich or poor, noble or common, everyone has the same opportunity in education. Once there was a lad of Hushang (a village in which the people were not educated), having an interview with Confucius. It was difficult to talk with the people from the village. Knowing this happening, his disciples worried and doubted. The master reminded them, "I admit people's approach to me without committing myself as to what they may do when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me, I receive him so purified, without guaranteeing his past conduct." This passage implies that if one who has good intention comes to ask for something, we should receive him without worrying about his past conduct, and at the same time we should not interfere with what he is going to do in future. This is the manner of a sage and also the manner of an ideal teacher.

Confucius was the first philosopher in China who explained the nature of man. However, he did not explain the difference between the good and the bad. He only pointed out, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart." In other words, the differences in the character of men were chiefly owing to their habit. Nature is the same in all, and though the physical organism and disposition do differ according to different individuals. Nature is the Construction received by man at birth and is then still while it has not been acted on by external environment, then practice forms, as it were, a second nature. (Sic) He who practices what is not good, becomes the mean man, and he who practices what is good, becomes the superior man. In this connection we should be careful in

selecting either friends or neighbors for the influence of environment is very strong.

By the end of his career as a teacher Confucius had expanded his lessons beyond the original six to include such subjects as history, literature, and political economy.

A man of simple wants and needs, his brilliance and charisma has passed from his original three thousand students to all peoples of the Orient, and today Confucius' ideas remain in the minds of most intellectuals in East Asia as the most important philosophical and pedagogical propositions of all time.

In conclusion, one can suggest that the legacy of Confucius remains with the people in the Republic of China today. Their educational institutions, though not stressing Confucianism as a major part of the curriculum, are in fact products of a society that is molded and tempered by the sage's moral and ethical teachings. Confucianism is so ingrained in the mind-set of China that most Chinese probably do not realize that their every action and thought have been influenced by this greatest of men who lived almost 2,500 years ago. The scholar K.M. Tong has correctly stated in his scholarly book:

Confucian thought was a basic concomitant of Chinese culture, coloring the values of nearly all fields of human endeavor, particularly those conceived with intellectual, social and political activities. In China Confucianism has been a system for regulating the relations of men according to certain beliefs concerning the fundamental forces of morality. . . . the great prestige of Confucius and his teaching during the centuries immediately after his death, as well as in subsequent Chinese history, must be ascribed to three factors: the first is the intrinsic appeal of Confucian

ideas to the Chinese way of thinking; the second is the historical setting of China; and the third is the evident personal charm and prestige of Confucius himself (M.K. Tong, 1970, p. 1).

THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

Seldom has any group of mankind been so prosperous and so nearly contented as were the Chinese under the governmental machinery when it was dominated by the ablest of civil servants and monarchs. (K. S.) Latourette in *the Chinese: Their Heritage and Culture*. 1934)

In 1905 the traditional examination system of China came to an end. By the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1912) China had been badly abused by most of the industrial nations of the world. Yet the open, fair, and competitive examination system that had ensured a dedicated, hard-working, and intellectual civil service system had survived virtually unaltered for nearly 1,500 years. Its strength was that it precluded nepotism and favoritism in the appointment of the highest officials of the state and assured that all officials, even at the local levels of government and education, were of a class that had worked and competed for their esteemed and revered positions. It also allowed the most humble family to hold out the hope that their son would eventuate to a position of distinction in government and/or academic life. Scholars are quick to suggest that this sense of fluidity that was engendered by the examination system may account for the relatively peaceful history of China. Europe, which is much smaller in population and territory than the Chinese civilization, has been constantly at war for the last 1,500 years. Periods of peace in Europe, even until this day, are rare. China's normal state was

peace; revolution and conflict were the exception and were normally isolated to the aristocracy and also to regional outburst. The sense of fluidity that the examination created in society and the optimism that all people felt in relation to the children or relatives moving — by way of the testing process — to positions of power is one character in the longevity of China's legacy.

Weaknesses of the traditional examination system are abundant. It tended to create a reactionary point of view in that the examination system relied on memorization, recitation, and analyzation of the ancient classics. When China was confronted with challenges from the technologically superior West and Japan, the leadership in Peking and Nanking could not adequately respond. A second major criticism of the examination system was that it tended to favor children and men of money. To devote ten, twenty, or even thirty years to study and rote learning required a man to have the financial backing that would preclude his need to work in the marketplace or in the fields. Consequently, the examination system tended to favor the middle and upper classes. In numerous cases, however, a poor but brilliant youngster would be supported by his community with the hope that this investment would be returned many-fold when the scholar-examinee achieved his success. Another problem of the examination system was that such great importance was placed on it as a means of upward mobility that every conceivable method to "beat the system" was employed by the Chinese student-scholar. We in education today lament the many attempts that students make to cheat; one can only imagine the ingenuity that an examination system like the one in traditional China would foster.

Surrogate examinees, payment of officials, using old essays, 'invisible ink' — all are part of the recorded history of the examination system. These problems and inconsistencies were the exception. For some 1,500 years the competitive government-sponsored examination system functioned remarkably well in ensuring scholarly officials and distinguished academicians and intellectuals. The legacy of the examination system can be seen in R.O.C. on Taiwan where great stress is placed on testing as a means to get into the academic and vocational high schools, and particularly as an avenue of admission to tertiary education. Problems still exist, but it is this writer's view that no better system has yet been devised by humankind to achieve the aims of an open, ethical, and fluid educational system. Thomas Jefferson, one of America's most distinguished presidents and no doubt the most scholarly, presented in his writings on education a theoretical system that if enacted would have resembled surprisingly closely the Chinese competitive examination and education system. The legacy of the open examination lives today R.O.C. on Taiwan. The remainder of this section will be devoted to a brief history of that system and also to a review of how it functions in the Republic of China as a vehicle for admission into the higher levels of academe.

Two of the most authoritative books on the subject, written in English, are Ichisada Mujazoki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examination System of Imperial China* (1963) (translated from Japanese), and Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System* (1960), (written when the author and his Chinese wife were Visiting Fellows at Harvard). Numerous other studies have

been done; most however, are in Chinese or Japanese. Because of the succinctness and felicity of the aforementioned books they will form the base for much of the remainder of this section on one of China's main educational legacies.

The genesis of the examination system can be traced to the Han Dynasty (201 B.C.-8 A.D.) when, due to a collapse in the central authority of the Emperor, an attempt was made by the imperial house to regain control of the society. The Emperor requested that the feudal princes who had titular control over the vast provinces of China, send men of quality to the court to be appointed as civil servants. These men, in the latter part of the Han, would compete with each other, through tests of various sorts, for the better positions in the government. It was during the Han also that the Confucian classics were first used as the device to test aspiring young civil servants. The scholar-official would be responsible to the Emperor for his appointment. A two-way control system was established: the Emperor could count on the appointees to be loyal to him; the scholar-official was indebted to the Emperor for the distinguished appointment he was offered.

Perhaps the main reasons that the Confucian texts were used as the device to examine aspirants were that they were so widespread and accessible and that their ideology of respect for relationships and their agenda for eliminating rancor in society were well in tune with the wishes of the sovereign. Admittedly they are also of great philosophical, intellectual, sociological, and ethical depth and no better scholarship was then — or for that matter is now — available for the instruction of the young in proper, respectful, and moral behavior.

Probably the main rationale for the

success and longevity of the examination system was that it placed serious and necessary constraints on the powerful and often highly independent aristocracy that had carved out and ruled large portions of China. The examination was an excellent and popular method during the Han and Liu periods for the Emperor to maintain loyalty in his government officials; it was equally favored by the lower classes who saw it as the only way for their progeny to move into a realm previously the exclusive purview of the nepotistic aristocracy. Public opinion in a nation as large and populous as China can be the sole factor in the survival of a political system, and the Chinese in these early days of their history (and in Taiwan today) see the open examination as a vehicle for social and economic mobility as well as a means of limiting the corruption that is usually associated with inbred aristocratical leadership.

Much of the history of the examination system in China is the story of the literate who have succeeded in their studies and thence received positions of power and esteem from the central government and the challenge to this group by those favoring the concept of inherited positions and titles. Viewing the totality of Chinese civilization by way of the examination, Bertrand Russell in *The Problem of China* (1922) states: "Among its good effects were: a widely diffused respect for learning; the possibility of doing without the hereditary aristocracy; the selection of scholars and administrators who must. . . have been capable of [great] understanding; the preservation of Chinese civilization in spite of barbarian conquest" (pp. 46-7). It was no small legacy that those thinkers in the Han Dynasty set out to create when they initiated what was to be the prototype of

the examination system!

It was during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) that the examination procedures were to develop into the configuration that survived essentially unaltered until the 20th century. Passing a series of local and regional examinations and the national examination would entitle one to the title of *Chin-Shih*. The best definition for this Chinese term is "Presented-Scholar" or a person who, by passing through the system of academeocracy, was presented to the Emperor who then bestowed upon him the degree of *Chin-Shih*. As the scholar moved up the examination procedure, which during the Tang was related to the Confucian doctrine, his chances of success diminished. Only one out of perhaps two to five hundred candidates would receive each year the *Chin-Shih*: some three thousand might sit for it.

The examinations consisted of an elucidation of the Confucian classics, composing a piece of original poetry, dissertation, and a free discussion on ethics, politics, and historical subjects. Law, calligraphy, and mathematics were later to be added to the examination process. The whole system was placed under the Board of Rites which had succeeded the aristocratic Board of Civil Appointments in 736. The Board of Rites, which was disbanded in the China period, still has many of its legitimate functions carried out in R.O.C. on Taiwan by the Examination Yuan, one of the important branches of modern Chinese government.

During the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) the process begun in the Han and sophisticated in the Tang reached its fullest level of success. In the Sung the procedure for giving the main examination each three years was developed. Another important

change made in this dynasty was that the paramount exam became the one given at the Palace. Consequently, the Emperor (not the examiners or scholars) became the institution that made the final determination as to who would become a Presented-Scholar. The Sung also saw the examination as the almost exclusive way for a person to get a position in government, to acquire wealth and power, and to have prestige. No one, irrespective of his ancestry, could eventuate to a position of influence without successfully fulfilling the demands of the testing procedure. Books became readily available to the populace at large, due to the invention of movable type, and in theory anyone, with few exceptions (e.g., sons of prostitutes, actors, insurrectionists), had the right to sit for the examination. However, as was previously mentioned, only those who could garner financial support to allow them the free time to study could, in fact, prepare for and take the tests. E.A. Krackle suggests in his study, "Family vs. Merit" (1957), that "unless we find other and more convincing evidence to the contrary, we must accept the conclusion that the examination of this period regularly served to recruit into the governmental service a very significant proportion of new blood."

Two models tended to ensure that there would be fairness and impartiality in the examination system during the Sung and after. (1) The name of the candidate was never revealed to the readers of the examination papers (an elaborate number system was used); and (2) the "palace examination" was instituted and the Emperor, supposedly neutral, would review and award the highest degrees. If a large number of offspring of the aristocracy were presented, the Emperor could determine if these men had actually

earned the Chin-Shih or had used influence to reach this place in their careers.

Though the Sung regime best exemplified the selection process that came from the competitive examination, the Ming (1368-1662) and the Ching (1644-1912) Dynasties also relied on it to select the leaders of the society. The Ching was Manchurian and was viewed, of course, as foreign; yet to have a stable and continuous civilization they, like the Yuan Dynasty of Mongolia, relied on the examination system for the appointment of the officials of the empire.

The examination throughout China's long history has been regarded as a major event in the nation's life. Cities that for most of the year were sleepy and traditional would burst into life when the examination was given. Major economic advantage was given to those towns and villages that housed the examination. Even today in Republic of China the yearly examinations are a time of preparation, tension, and great excitement. Because the examinations tested students over the same topics year after year, an unparalleled uniformity of thought was enforced not only with the officials of the state but within the mind-set of the whole leading class. As Wolfgang Franke states:

But after neo-Confucian interpretation of the Confucian classics was adopted as state dogma, there remained almost no opportunity for the development of original ideas, for any deviation from the orthodox interpretation led certainly to failure. In this way, particularly from the Ming dynasty on, an unparalleled uniformity of thought was enforced not only among the officials but throughout the whole leading class. The examination system served simultaneously to recruit loyal civil servants of a standard type and to guarantee a thorough indoctrination in the Confu-

cian ideology among the whole educated class, which on its part was the model for the whole population. For over 500 years the traditional Chinese system achieved harmoniously and smoothly, with almost no resort to force, a degree of intellectual homogeneity eagerly sought, but so far scarcely attained, by the modern authoritarian systems (p. 13).

The pedagogical process that prepared men for the examination is quite unlike what one thinks of today on hearing the words "school" or "education." Private tutors were employed. The institutions that were the "schools" for these would-be scholars were really limited to places where a person could register for the examination and perhaps get some advice on what books to read and whom he might contact for further instruction. Though these settings were government maintained, they can in no way be considered "schools" as we in the West have come to know that term. Most real education took place in private academies that were set up by communities for their sons. Formal education began when a boy was seven and could continue until he was in his forties. Instruction at the academies centered on the *Four Books* of Confucius. Memorization, repetition, and an emphasis on self and class discipline characterized these schools. The regard for proper behavior is reflected in the statement, "If education is not strict, it shows that the teacher is lazy." Not surprisingly, this view is held today by the leaders of education in Taiwan. Ichisada Mujazoki indicates that a student, to have been successful in his "primary education," would have had to learn 431,286 characters, for that is how many are included in the various standard texts. Many of these characters are repeated in texts, so it was not 431,286 different

ideographs; still these had to be committed to memory, and the length of time to do this was six years. Two hundred characters a day were required to be learned if a child was to keep pace with his classmates. Only the most hardy of body and mind could maintain this pace, and a Darwinian view of education — only the most fit shall survive and rule — can not be disregarded when one looks at traditional Chinese education and examinations.

In summary, the Chinese examination system prior 1905 had as its strengths the following characteristics: it was open to all qualified applicants; it was a fair system for all who were able to compete; it allowed the government of China to have persons of new ideas in leadership positions; it diminished the influence of the traditionally powerful inherited aristocracy; and it gave a sense of serene peace to even the humblest family in that they knew that their son or grandson or his sons might be a great leader if he applied himself to his studies.

A review of both the classical and modern examination process that has been (and remains) at the heart of all Chinese education suggests that this concept has survived in spirit and fact because it has served the civilization of Cathay so admirably. Changes and modifications have been part of the process since the Han period; yet the essential dynamic of the examination and its *raison d'être* have remained as one of the consistent institutions of this most splendid civilization. "By this system," states Professor Durant, "the national mind and ambition were turned in the direction of study, and the national heroes and models were men of culture rather than masters of wealth."

FAMILY LIFE

By building the house on a sound foundation the world is made secure.

— Confucius

What the Chinese best know, cultivate the most, and have brought the greatest perfection, is morality.

— Voltaire

Family life and the concept of centralization are interwoven into the fabric of Chinese history, life, and education. Though these two characteristics that have dominated Chinese history for thousands of years are not unique to Sinica, they have individually and co-supportively played a larger part in that nation's protracted civilization than in any other nation.

Family life is the central institution for all that happened in traditional China; it continues to play a major role in the life of people in R.O.C. and interacts directly with the educative processes of the society. Though the traditional extended family in which many generations would live in the same home or compound has disappeared from most of the Taiwan landscape, the concept and the influence of "family" remain a dominant factor in social and economic vitality. Nucleus family models — where a husband, wife and children (average three in R.O.C.) live in the one domicile — are now very common. Only on the larger farms in the beautiful countryside of Taiwan can one find grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts, children and their spouses, and grandchildren living in the same large shaped, single-level home. Urbanization and industrialization have led to two dynamic qualities that have slowly eroded the extended family — fewer children generally are born to urban families, and

industrialization has tended to give younger persons greater economic independence and, as a consequence, less eagerness to remain under the watchful eye of their parents or grandparents.

Traditionally the senior male of a family, if his health allowed, would rule the household till his death. He would be followed by de facto rule of his wife; real power would, however, go to the next oldest male, usually the first son. Children, because of economic dependence, the honor of the family name, and the Confucian ideal of reverence to one's elders and of one's ancestors (filial piety), would remain part of the surname structure and take their place in the elaborate schemata that characterized the Chinese family constellation.

Structural relationships and authority are the recurring themes in the Chinese nucleus and extended or "grand" family. Yet these are only a microcosm for a more broadly based set of interpersonal interactions and constellations. Traditional China held father-son dominant-subservient relation was of paramount importance but also four cardinal relationships among men must exist: the Emperor and his subjects, husband and wife, older and younger siblings, and friend and friend. Sub-relationships that the Confucian ethic emphasized were older and younger, teacher and pupil, gentry and peasant, and educated and illiterate. Unlike the European and Japanese models in which the king or emperor was absolute and thought to rule by heavenly decree for life, the Chinese always held a more utilitarian and democratic vision of their king. This quote written by the eminent Professor James Legge, known best for his translations of the *Analects*, perhaps illustrates the relative position of the king and his subjects. Extrapolation would suggest

that the philosophy expressed here was pervasive in most Chinese relationships save the sacrosanct one between father and son.

The Emperor has been uniformly regarded as the son of god by adoption only, and liable to be displaced from that position as a punishment for the offense of misrule. . . . If the ruler failed in his duties, the obligation of the people was at an end, and his divine right disappeared simultaneously. Of this we have an example in a portion of the Canon to be examined by and by. Under the year 558 B.C. we find the following narrative. One of the feudal princes asked an official, saying, "Have not the people of the Wei State done very wrong in expelling their ruler?" "Perhaps the ruler himself," was the reply, "may have done very wrong. . . . If the life of the people is impoverished, and if the spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, of what use is the ruler, and what can the people do but get rid of him?" (Russell, 1922, p. 59)

There were many advantages to the extended traditional Chinese family. Perhaps the one of most impact was that it created in all members a sense of belonging to a permanent reference group with which they had common goals and aspirations. This psychological dimension has been lost to many of the peoples of China now that single nucleus family life is becoming more the norm. Advantages for education were also pronounced — to enable a bright young man the time and leisure to study for the national examinations that were required for entry into the upper levels of power, a financial support

system had to be developed and maintained. The traditional Chinese family, with resources spanning two or three generations and monies centralized in the hands of the senior man or woman, could select the child with greatest potential in academics and, by polling the family's ensure him the opportunity to become part of the intelligentsia.

Weaknesses in the traditional family also existed. If a father was unkind this could not be held in check; the wife was often treated scrofulously by the mother- and grandmother-in-law; and young couples had little or no opportunity to choose the life style they wanted. It might be mentioned that until recently marriages were arranged by the families involved, and the two prized commodities sought by in-laws were a family's high economic status and its educational level.

Whether a society as dynamic as modern R.O.C. can have the best of both worlds — orderliness and traditions within the family configuration and at the same time economic development, social mobility, world interrelatedness, and rapid academic climbing — is impossible to presage: The social anomalies related to youth that plague America, Western Europe, Hong Kong, and Japan may find their way into Taiwan and have a potentially deleterious effect on that society's amazing growth and development. Perhaps, though, the four thousand years of Chinese history which has culminated in the society that now exists in R.O.C. will preclude changes that will threaten the better traditions and values of Chinese life.

Central Thai Folk Buddhism and the Response to Indochinese Refugees

Paul Rutledge

The disasters initiated and perpetuated by nature and by human nature have created within the past one hundred years in Southeast Asia an unprecedented phenomenon. Military conflicts, harsh rulers, and unrelenting monsoons have all been the cause of displacing people from their ancestral homelands. Within the past thirty-five years, however, revolution and military conflict which drew the attention and participation of many countries from outside the Southeast Asian region have been the genesis for longterm population movements and relocation. In recent years, peoples displaced from their homelands have begun to wander across the peninsula and throughout the Southeast Asian archipelago searching for opportunities to survive in the short-run and reconstitute historical entities and traditional patterns and societies in the long-run. As the movements of peoples have grown, the host countries have been forced to consider their capacity to care for the burgeoning numbers of refugee peoples coming from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

THAI SELF-SUFFICIENTCY

The fertility of the agricultural lands of Thailand are well-known throughout the Southeast Asian region. The abun-

dance of food provided through the tandem resources of human labor and fertile land has made Thailand far more stable in respect to food resources than many of its neighbors.

Thais have a saying which originated far back in their history and which when translated states, "In the fields there is rice, in the water there are fish." The truism reflects not only on the resources provided by the land, but also philosophy underscores the Thai perspective that the earth will provide for the one who is assertive enough to harvest her bounty.

Thai people have long existed in communal fashion believing that through mutual work and shared rewards that more people are cared for at a higher level. In addition, cooperative ventures in regard to food development, raises the probability that the earth itself will be treated in a higher fashion; that is, that the balance of nature, among all living forms including humans, will be guaranteed.

THAILAND AS A COUNTRY OF PRIMARY ASYLUM

If for no other region than its geographical proximity to the countries of Indochina-Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam-Thailand has become a country of

primary asylum for persons fleeing the communist governments of those countries. In addition, with a government aligned with the free world, Thailand is viewed by many refugee peoples as an ideal place for seeking refuge and shelter.

The policy of the Thai government as documented within government literature is quite clear. The government maintains that the ideal policy towards refugees from its neighbors to the East, is no refugees at all. The official position is one of offering temporary assistance without permanent resettlement in Thailand. Thailand becomes then a way station for refugees in transit to another country of asylum, but does not desire to become a repository of refugees from Indochina.

Policy and reality do not always coincide. As the numbers of refugees increase and as they continue to flow across the national borders, Thailand has been faced with the enormous problems of providing housing, food, and medical assistance to a population increasingly dependent on the Thai government and the international assistance teams (United Nations, Red Cross, etc.) who work within the refugee camps. Initial care for incoming refugees is provided almost immediately, but the ability to sustain that care is rapidly becoming an undesired burden on the Thai government.

The problem stems from the diminishing interest by other countries to receive refugees. The increasing economic burden placed on countries by large numbers of immigrating Indochinese has made many countries reluctant to accept additional numbers of people from the Thai refugee camps. As a result, a re-defining of "refugee" has been undertaken by several national governments severely limiting the numbers of refugees

they may legally allow entrance into their country within any given time period. The end result is that Thailand has become a country of primary asylum with the prospects of recognizing at least a semi-permanence of refugee peoples within her borders, and with the dilemma of addressing the larger humanitarian and economic questions which loom should the population appear to have become permanent.

HINAYANA FOLK BUDDHIST CONCEPT OF REFUGE

In the consideration of the massive refugee need within Thailand, specifically, and within Southeast Asia, generally, governments have begun to redefine categories of human population movements including "refugee" and definitions of living needs and conditions including "resettlement" and "asylum". With the civil conflict raging again in Cambodia; and with no apparent end in sight to the swelling numbers of migrating peoples, governments and national peoples are faced with the prospect of refugee populations and their attendant human and social needs for the near-term and perhaps the long-term future.

As the conflicts rage between armed groups — both armies and insurgents — conflicts within the civilian social units have quickly evolved and stratified with the entrance of ethnic groups including Lao, Lao Thung, Hmong, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and various tribal peoples into the eastern portion of Thailand. The refugee explosion began following the fall of Saigon in April, 1975, and except for marginal periods has continued at a steady and increasing pace.

The flight from Indochina has resulted in a scattering of peoples throughout

east-central Thailand, and central Thais have worked through provincial leaders to control the flow of Vietnamese entering their cities and countryside. Even when the indigenous people are assured by the Thai government that the location of Indochinese people is only temporary, the "myth of final destination" remains a curious perceptual reality to many Thais.

In attempting to assess their obligation and ability to accommodate the genuine human need of refugees, central Thais have looked to a large extent to the sangha and their religious beliefs for guidance. In doing so, central Thais have combined their historical Hinayana (Theravada) Buddhism with the folk practices of their provinces which have become an integral part of their belief system. Traditional (orthodox) dogmas, and concensually accepted trends in Buddhism have syncretistically entwined to form the basis for the theological perspective on the refugee situation.

Although the Dhrama determines the behavioral response (absolute), the Dhrama is understood most fully within the inner self and therefore according to central Thai folk Buddhism it is subject to change within one's understanding. As expressed within Santi Asoke's work on the new trends, "Our perception of the world is a reflection of our inner selves. When our minds and souls change, then our perception of things also change. Not only will our perceptions change but so will our behaviors". (Asoki, p. 23) The belief persists both within mainstream Thai Buddhism and within the emerging schools of thought that as one seeks and obtains a state of purity, then one becomes free from self-motivation and selfishness. This freedom allows for the person to exercise self-sacrifice in regards

to other human beings not only in the context of one's society of origin, but also with the greater society of humankind. "When one successfully practices the Eightfold Path, it is only a natural course that one will work harder, consume less and share the rest of what one has with society". (Asoki, p. 24) Refuge traditionally found within the Buddha, the Dhrama, and the Sangha, has also become a state of practice which is a mandated expression of charity by Buddhist people.

CENTRAL THAI FOLK BUDDHISM

In the central region of Thailand, folk Buddhism has taken root and grown naturally within the village and rural populations and may be defined as the primary religious perspective from which behaviors are determined and refined. References to outsiders, generally, and to Indochinese refugees, specifically, are often textually documented as accurate through the words or teachings of the local monks.

The provincial shaping of Hinayana Buddhism is readily evident as one studies the theological systems of the monasteries and engages the monks in dialogue. The "phi" or spirits of the dead, ghosts, and unknown demons are pronounced within the thinking and teaching of central Thai Buddhism. The ideas developing within the sangha are evident of sectarian influence and local emphasis. They borrow from one another in their expression, tone, and ritual, and are influenced by the political realities of their supporters. The changing face of Buddhism is a result of a myriad number of predicaments which have been extrapolated from the common concerns of the general populous; concerns which range from the theological

underpinnings of reproductive ritual to the growing interest in communitywide economic development.

The teachings of the Lord Buddha then for one to assist in meeting the needs of another and that refuge or a haven safe from the destruction of self and the selfishness of the world (Carter) must be reconciled with the perception of human ecology and economic environment into which the refugees from other countries are now moving. It is in this mixing of theology, economics, and pragmatism that one is able to determine what one's appropriate response should be to refugees and to what degree that response should be employed.

INTERVIEWS AND RESPONSES

As a result of interviews conducted with more than 300 residents of the central provinces, perspectives toward Indochinese refugees began to take form. There was a suspicion on the part of 84% of the persons interviewed that the refugee populations may contain insurgents, Khmer communists, and/or Vietnamese spies who were using the tragedy of the situation to infiltrate Thailand. Although the majority of the respondents (91%) agreed verbally that assistance should be given, most were reluctant to automatically integrate the refugee populations into Thai society even after official screening by the government. Of those polled, 249 (out of 307) or 81% preferred that the refugee people be repatriated or transferred to another country of asylum. As one Thai elder replied, "the Vietnamese are not a people to trust. It is better if they leave soon and they cannot live here as Thais. They are not Thais and it would not be healthy for us to live

together."

When asked if one's faith presupposition and/or religion persuasion determined one's response, the majority replied that it was a primary factor (284 out of 307 or 93%) even though they did not always respond in the same manner as others who held, or claimed to hold, a similar view or faith orientation.

The perspective of folk Buddhism, however, did blend with the people's apprehension a sense of hopefulness. A Buddhist monk in Chachoengsao indicated the hope that the populations of refugees would contain persons of professional backgrounds who could prove advantageous to the needs of central Thais especially those in remote areas. "I hope that new people (refugees) will come and add a strong hand to help us here. We need more monks and some of the people are priests and could help. Some others may have learned tasks which would help us here, also. We would have to be very careful who we let come to our home, but we must also take the risk of providing refuge. This is a hard idea to make come alive, especially with people (Vietnamese) who we (find) hard to like."

Local government officials expressed the hope that the nature of the situation and the crisis needs of the refugees would accelerate the existing requests they had made to the government in Bangkok for development funds and personnel assistance. However, upon closer analysis and more intensive interviews, 294 out of 307 or 96% of those interviewed believed that the risk of relocating any sizable number of Indochinese refugees, generally, and Vietnamese, specifically, into their community was too great even with the potential of additional economic investment by the government.

SUMMARY

Although the literature regarding Southeast Asian refugees is thorough in its discussion of cultural variations among Indochinese, governmental definitions of primary terminology such as "refugee", health and social needs of refugee peoples, and state intervention in refugee resettlement, material assessing the actual perspectives of the local populations into which the refugees may be resettling gathered on a firsthand basis, is quite rare. Much more work and many more interviews need to be conducted within the central area of Thailand, and although these results are only preliminary (hence, the chosen title for the article), the developing sense of the people interviewed (307 firsthand interviews) was one of ambivalence and actual contradiction. The traditional teachings of the faith (Buddhism) demands hospitality at the least, and acceptance at the most be extended to wayfarers in distress. The folk sects emerging in the central provinces further accentuate that teaching, and teach a poverty of the soul when charity is withheld.

Conversations, however, with the

areas residents point to a deeply held belief that one should extend the boundaries of one's own refuge to include the refugees, but to do so puts one at risk with potential enemies masquerading as people in need. Simply expressed by a central Thai father of four small children, "My religion (Buddhism) says that I should look on all people with a desire to help them if I can. But my world also tells me that these people may hurt us and that they should go somewhere else."

This ambivalence has created a twilight area where hospitality is theoretically conferred, but only marginally extended. The political fears of the past fifteen years and the immediate economic needs of the present are too fresh and too real for the barriers of reticence to be completely broken even by theological teachings.

A Thai merchant woman said in response to this apparent contradiction, "It is not (two different ideas). The Buddha would want me to honor and protect my children. I cannot be good (faithful) to that and also help the Vietnamese. It is really a world problem, and not a Thai problem. America can be a better refuge for them."

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The New Micronesian Freely-Associated States in United States-Japan Relations

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf

Historical Background to the U.S. and Japan in Micronesia

There is a long and interesting history of relations and sensitivities between Japan and Micronesia about which many people on both sides of the Pacific are unaware. As a Pacific area, Micronesia is geographically within the Japanese sphere of influence, and traditionally always has been. According to a 12th century Japanese literary work, *the Kokin Chomon Shu*, initial Japanese contacts with Micronesians dates back at least to 1171 AD when some strangers drifted ashore at *Okinoshima of Izu*, which is the present-day Shizuoka Prefecture. They were possibly from Micronesia, if we can rely on descriptions of their basic features and equipment. If they were indeed Micronesians, these documents might be the oldest record of the Micronesians in the world.¹

Another major contact of Japan with what is now American Pacific territory occurred in the 1830s when about 20 Japanese drifted ashore at Guam. These people spent the rest of their lives on the island, were assimilated into the local

society, and instructed the Chamorros in the planting of rice paddy fields. In the latter half of the 19th century, a small number of Japanese were employed by American whalers in the Pacific, and had further opportunities for encounters with Micronesians.²

In 1884, the Japanese warship, *Ryujo*, made a call at Kosrae in the Eastern Caroline Islands, and in the same year several Japanese fishermen drifted to the Marshall Islands and were killed by the local people. This caused further Japanese contact with the Marshalls in the way of reprisals and retribution, and marked the beginning of a sustained and growing interest by Japanese in the south seas islands. By the time of the Spanish-American War the venerable Mori Koben had made his entrance to the south seas and had established himself firmly at Truk where he would make his fame and fortune, and spend the rest of his days as the most celebrated and prominent Japanese settler in Micronesia.³

The Spanish-American War brought the Americans and Japanese into near open rivalry in the south Pacific. At Manila Bay when Commodore George Dewey defeated the Spanish fleet on 1 May 1898, a Japanese squadron stood-off

watching the encounter in case the Americans did not so fare well. Admiral Togo may have had ideas of his own conquest, and it was commonly known that the Japanese had previously offered aid to the Filipino insurgent leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, in his fight against the Spanish before the Americans even arrived in the islands.⁴

Awareness on the part of the Americans that the Japanese were interested in their manifest destiny in the south Pacific, caused no little concern and caution. When the Americans captured Guam on 21 June 1898, contingent on the Manila operations of Admiral Dewey, an incident involving a Japanese trading schooner occurred which bespoke the American concern over the Japanese presence in the Marianas. Even though the Spanish were regarded by the American navy as "a weak and inferior enemy," there were nevertheless round-the-clock combat drills, ordered by Captain Henry Glass, for the troops aboard the *USS Charleston*, as they approached Guam. This was because the Americans feared that the Japanese, or possibly the Germans, might attempt to use the faltering Spanish defense of their Pacific empire as an opportunity to seize the islands.

When the *USS Charleston* entered Apra Harbor, the officers and crew noticed a large alien ship anchored there. As the *Charleston* approached, this ship raised the banner of Japan's rising sun. The name *Minatocawa* was written on its stern, and the smaller merchant vessels behind it were also from Japan. For a time Glass's guns remained trained on what appeared to be the unarmed Japanese. Captain Glass boarded the *Minatocawa*, and demanded that the skipper explain his presence and inform the Americans about the strength of the

Spanish forces on the island. The Japanese captain proved to be cooperative, and urged leniency towards the Spanish ashore because they knew nothing, he said, of the war that had been declared between America and Spain.⁵

After the Spanish-American War, the Americans retained Guam and the Philippines as colonies, and Spain sold the Carolines and the rest of the Marianas to Germany for about \$6 million. Still, there were tensions between America and Japan, and of course Germany as well. When World War One broke out in Europe the Japanese, under secret agreements with the British, chased the Germans out of the Pacific and seized all the German islands north of the equator. At the close of WWI Japan was awarded Micronesia according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, but the Americans refused to recognize the Treaty until the Japanese agreed to join the League of Nations and administer Micronesia through a "class C" mandate.⁶

At Guam matters became increasing tense for the American navy there who constantly feared the Japanese presence which was now completely athwart the ocean routes between Hawaii and the Philippines. An incident known as the "Yap Crises" further exacerbated the tensions between the two countries. The Germans had a cable station at Yap — Guam's closest neighbor — in the western Carolines. The Japanese immediately improved the cable station upon their take-over of Yap, and there were reports that the natives of the island were being mistreated. President Wilson objected and demanded that Yap be an "international island" because of the communication facilities there. The Japanese finally agreed to this and declared Yap an "open port."⁷ All through the mandated period

Yap was accessible by all nations. Of course, the Japanese because of this, never fully developed Yap, and to this day Yap remains one of the most conservative of the island states in Micronesia; abhorrent or at least discouraging of most outside intrusions and influences.

Some American officialdom was expectant, when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, that she would lose her Micronesian colonies, but such did not turn out to be the case. The islands were in a naturally close relationship with Japan and were therefore important in considerations of security and defense.

The horror of the Pacific War, 1941-45, is still real for many Japanese and Americans, but even this tragedy continued to bind the relationship between Japan and the United States in the case of Micronesia. The bitter fighting was over by late 1944, and almost all Japanese nationals were repatriated by the end of 1946. At that time many families were broken up, and some were not reunited for years afterward. Thus were born the numerous groups that have assisted in the post-war interest in Micronesia in Japan. The best-known of these is the *Nan'yo Gunto Kyokai* — south seas association — which was formed in 1947 by people who had lived and worked in Micronesia prior to WWII. Many other organizations have been formed in the years since, and they all play a part in increasing the contact and understanding across generations of Japanese and Micronesians.⁸

The Peace Treaty was signed between Japan and the United States in 1951, and after that the relationships in Micronesia began to change dramatically. Some of the pre-war *Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha* managers were contacted by the U. S.

Naval authorities and asked to assist with the general commercial supplying of the islands; their expertise being the most well-developed and experienced available. From this time to the present the relationships between the Americans and the Japanese working together in the islands of Micronesia has been enhanced and this has turned out to be for the benefit of all concerned.

Contemporary Micronesia

Curiously, at the end of World War II, the Micronesian islands of Japan were placed under a Trusteeship with the United Nations; an agreement that was remarkably similar to the mandated arrangements which Japan agreed to under the League of Nations some 27 years earlier. This American arrangement was also — like that of Japan's — not the first choice of the government. The Americans really wanted outright annexation of the islands.⁹ However, the Russians had entered WWII shortly before the closing days and had taken some of the northern islands of Japan. U. S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull advised President Truman that annexing Micronesia would set a precedent that the Soviets would exploit in the case of the Japanese northern islands. Therefore, the "strategic" Trusteeship was arranged. Unfortunately, as we all know, the Soviets annexed the northern islands anyway.

There were 11 trusteeships established under the United Nations Trusteeship Council after WWII, but Micronesia was the only "strategic" one. Under this arrangement, the annual reportage would be through the Trusteeship Council as were the other 10, but the final authority in the case of "strategic" Micronesia

would be through the Security Council. Since the U. S. is a permanent member of the Security Council, and since all permanent members have a veto power in the Security Council, all votes must be unanimous to pass, and therefore America was responsible only to herself in the case of Micronesia. That is, the U. S. in the case of Micronesia was responsible to an organization that the U. S. controlled.¹⁰

Throughout this period of Trusteeship the U. S. and Japan have been very close allies in the case of the islands, and the administrative districting arrangements which the U. S. used in Micronesia were almost identical to those employed by Japan.¹¹ The Marianas, excluding Guam were called the Marianas District, and then the other districts in the Carolines were: Yap, Palau, Truk, and Pohnpei. Kosrae, formerly known as Kusaie, became a separate district in 1977. Finally, there was the Marshalls District.

These islands today have formed a new political status relationship with the United States. Negotiations for this new status which is called "free association" began in 1969. The U. S. wanted to see all the TTPI remain together in one political entity, however as the negotiations went on it became increasingly clear that fragmentation was unavoidable because of the wishes of the people. In the early 1970s the Marianas broke off from the rest of the Micronesian future political status commission of the Congress of Micronesia, and formed its own commission. This, the Americans recognized and undertook separate negotiations which resulted, in 1978, in the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.¹²

The remaining districts: Palau, Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, Kosrae and the Marshalls,

continued their negotiations and in 1975 settled upon a status of "free association" with the United States. This status called for complete autonomy and self-government under an established constitution which would be ratified by all the people. It also called for regular economic support from the United States as well as other ties and arrangements which would be subscribed to by both sides under a Compact of Free Association. A "compact" here is tantamount to a treaty, and renegotiation is called for after a 15 year period; hence this free association status is not a permanent one.

Concurrent with the negotiations for a compact of free association with the United States, the Micronesian TTPI districts which remained after the separation of the CNMI, held a constitutional convention which resulted in a draft document after considerable debate by 1977. It was decided by the Congress of Micronesia and the United States representatives that a regionwide plebiscite would be held to ratify this constitution. All those ratifying would become a "federation of states" under that constitution; those not ratifying would have to devise and adopt their own constitution, become separate states entirely, and pursue their own compact negotiations with the United States. This was agreed to and the plebiscite was held in 1978. The result was that four districts of the TTPI ratified the constitution and became the Federated States of Micronesia. These, as stated above, are: Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae. Palau began its own constitutional convention, as did the Marshalls, and these two separate entities also continued their negotiations for a Compact with the US. As negotiated, all of the Compacts provide for local authority for internal and foreign affairs with

US plenary domestic programs such as weather and postal services, regulatory agencies for land, air, sea, and federal emergency act provisions.¹³

By 1982 the FSM, the RMI, and the CNMI were all ready to have the Trusteeship Agreement terminated and get on with the business of governing themselves under their new status.

Only Palau remained unready. This was because there was a disharmony between the Palau constitution and the negotiated Compact of Free Association with the United States. The Palau constitution provided that no nuclear weapons or materials could come into territorial boundaries of Palau without a favorable vote of 75% of the electorate. This meant that US naval ships could not call upon Palau ports since the presence of nuclear materials on US warship is "neither confirmed nor denied" in all cases. Hence, this conflict between the Palau constitution and the Compact meant that the United States could not live up to its agreement to "provide for the defense" of Palau. It has now been nearly ten years in working out the impasses with Palau. As of this writing, there is still little progress on the positive side to report. In the course of the past ten years there have been two of Palau's five presidents die violent deaths; one by assassination, and one by suicide.¹⁴ The details and difficulties of the Palau situation could be an entirely separate presentation. Suffice to say here that the people of Palau are divided as to who will hold the local power, and also over the nuclear issue. All concerned are working to obviate the impasses and implement the Compact during the present administration of President Ngiratkel Etpison.

With regard to the negotiated agreements, the terms of the Compacts are as

follows:

Palau will receive \$7 million annually for the first ten years of the Compact and \$6 million annually for the next five years. In addition, \$1 million annually will be given for infrastructure maintenance for ten years commencing on the fifth anniversary. The defense commitment in Palau is for 50 years.

Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) will receive \$60 million annually for the first five years of the Compact, \$51 million annually for the second five year period, and \$40 million annually for the third years period. Over the 15 year period, no less than 40% of these amounts must be dedicated to capital improvement accounts. The defense commitment for the FSM is for an "indefinite" period.

The Marshalls will receive \$19 million annually for the first five years, \$15 million annually for the second five years, and \$12 million annually for the third five years. Further, all these accounts will be adjusted for inflation in each fiscal year.

In addition there are certain miscellaneous payments which are provided for, and these include \$9 million annually to the Marshalls to use at its discretion but with attention to the Kwajelein Atoll area which is the location of a US missile-testing facility. There will also be \$6 million annually for the term of the Compacts overall, to be divided as follows:

- \$1 million for surveillance and enforcement in Micronesian maritime areas;
- \$2 million annually for health and medical programs; and,
- \$3 million annually in support of educational scholarships.¹⁵

To many neighboring Pacific island nations these terms seem over-generous, however there are a number of questions

yet to be answered regarding the future development of these new and comparatively affluent Micronesian states which may render continuing or even greater assistance necessary; among them (1) what has been their past colonial experience with economic development, and how will the Micronesians support themselves in the future beyond the subsidies which they will receive from the United States; (2) will they be politically recognized by other nations, or simply patronized without real recognition; (3) how will they relate to the other new nations in the Pacific, especially those in the south?

Let me comment just briefly on these questions, especially as they relate to the relationship between Japan and the United States. The Japanese colonial experience in Micronesia remains as one of the least studied periods in Micronesian history, but from studies which have been done at my university, we have lately been learning that there were many positive aspects to the Japanese colonial period in the islands, which have been inadequately investigated to date. Many Micronesians, especially those who were eye witnesses to that colonial period, remember it with many warm feelings towards the Japanese. This has resulted today in a great deal of interest in and good will towards Japan. With regard to economic development, the Japanese policies were admittedly exploitive, but nevertheless the testimony has indicated that many "good examples" were set by the Japanese with regard to economic development, and I believe that as the time continues to pass in the islands, these "good Japanese examples" will be increasingly remembered.¹⁶ The islanders have a long way to go before they can reach economic self-sufficiency, but

surely the Japanese stand the most excellent chance of providing them with relevant assistance.

Recognition of the new Micronesian states by other countries in the region has been slow. This is particularly true of the metropolitan powers. All of the South Pacific Forum countries recognized the Micronesian freely-associated states almost immediately after their status was confirmed by the United States. The United States and Australia gave recognition immediately, and New Zealand and Israel have followed. Japan has dragged her feet in recognition, but finally did extend that recognition in August 1988. The European countries, including the Soviet Union, have not yet recognized the new states.

The reasons for the slowness in the Japanese case is a matter upon which I can only speculate. U. S. Ambassador to the Micronesian Status talks, Fred Zeder was reportedly given assurances by the Nakasone government that recognition would be forthcoming. However, that did not happen and some speculation at the time had it that the Japanese were afraid of offending the Soviets who occasionally had made suggestions that they might be ready to begin talks for the return of some of the northern islands. Another reason could have been that the Japanese were simply being conservative and awaiting the disposition of some of the European powers. However, we in Micronesia are happy to report that in August 1988, Japan officially recognized the new Micronesian states.

The Soviet Union has been consistently adamant in their opposition to U. S. development policies in Micronesia. It is because they hold up the final U. N. voting on the end of the Trusteeship, that many of the European common

market countries such as France and Germany, as well as Great Britain, continue to hold back their official recognition.

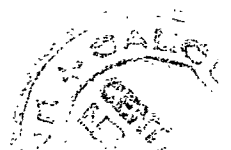
The holding back of official recognition, however, has never prevented Japan from extending economic assistance to Micronesia, and this has been a great plus for the relationship between the U. S. and Japan in the region. The Japanese are steadily increasing their aid to the Pacific island region, and certainly this is in line with the government's perceived self-interest. In describing the Japanese aid-giving behavior in the Pacific, *The South Seas Digest*, 13 May 1988, concluded that: "Japan is gradually increasing its aid, while traditional donors such as Britain, Australia, and New Zealand are gradually diminishing their aid."¹⁷ This current Pacific Japanese aid strategy has been recently advocated in the so-called Watanabe Report, which was commissioned by former Prime Minister Takeshita, and prepared by Professor Watanabe Akio of Tokyo University.¹⁸

The relationships between the new Micronesian states and the rest of the Pacific island nations are so far cordial, and gradually increasing as far as physical and institutional contacts are concerned. There are Micronesian students now attending the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, and the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby. There is a greater activity on the part of the South Pacific Commission in aid-giving to the Micronesian states than there has been previously, and all of this can be expected to increase in the future.

Now, how might we sum up the new

Micronesian states and their development as far as the American and Japanese relations are concerned. I think we can say surely that there is a very positive relationship between the Americans and the Japanese over Micronesia, and this is a welcome development in contrast to our difficulties in a number of other areas. This positiveness will certainly increase, and the United States, will, I believe, encourage Japan to take an even larger role in the future for the aid-giving and development in the region; Micronesia is certainly in the Japanese sphere of influence more today than ever before. As the world shrinks more and more, it is important that we all see our respective efforts in assistance to be in greater and greater cooperation. In the past Japan and America have both been remiss in seeing the need for cooperation, and the record will clearly indicate this. To illustrate this, I am prompted in closing, to quote from a speech presented over seventy years ago by the honorable Baron Chinda, Japanese Ambassador to Washington, when speaking of the Pacific cooperation he foresaw between Japan and America, and which, I believe, is remarkably appropriate for today and for the future:

The Pacific Ocean has been growing more narrow daily. The east and the west which stood aloof without a thing in common except their humanity, have by that wonderful thread, been drawn together, until today we stand shoulder to shoulder. I am convinced that ... our good understanding will increase [and] the road between our homes will become more and more the beaten track of neighbors.¹⁹



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The Cultural Impact of Japanese “Returned Students” to China in the Early 90’s

Louis G. Perez

In the first decade of the twentieth century approximately 40,000 young Chinese students who had been educated abroad, primarily in Japan, formed the nucleus of a revolutionary movement that would ultimately topple the Ch’ing Dynasty (1644-1911) in the 1911 Revolution. These young people were judged to be the “best and the brightest” and the future of the country. They were children of the ruling class who had been sent abroad as students to discover the secrets of Western-modernization. They had been sent by their parents and by their government to the more developed nations to become the new academic and technologic experts who would save China from an uncertain future. But along with the obligatory science and technology in their curriculum, these students also greedily devoured the political and social science. They became fascinated with the ideals of democracy, of personal and civil liberties, of social contract, and even of capitalism.

They wrote of these newly discovered wonders to their student friends at home. They returned to China flushed with the possibilities of incorporating these bits of modernity into the monochromatic and moribund bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy was not impressed and not amused.

They had sent these youngsters abroad to become the scientists and technicians of China’s future, *not* to become the government’s social critics. The old cadre bristled at the student’s criticisms of nepotism, graft, corruption and inefficiency within the government. Finally the old guard became convinced that the students had to be taught their place: preferably by force of reason, but by military force if necessary. The bureaucracy struck rapidly and decisively. Many students were arrested. Of them, most were jailed for at least a few weeks, a few of the most radical were executed, and the rest cowed into seeming submission.

But the repression of ideas was ultimately impossible. The student “movement” grew geometrically with oppression. For every student who was arrested, twenty took his/her place. For everyone imprisoned and tortured in Peking’s dark, dank prisons, another score rose to shoulder the revolutionary burden. The ranks of students who had been educated abroad were swelled with the thousands of Chinese students who had been educated throughout China. Eventually they were joined by urban workers and shopkeepers, by their professors and even finally by young sympathetic police and army officers. Before long the

movement overflowed into the channels of provincial and municipal governments until the movement begun by "returned students" became genuinely of the people. The final stage was when the irresistible modern tide swept the *ancien regime* from Peking.

Is this a scenario for the history of mainland China in the wake of the June 3, 1989 massacre of students at Tiananmen Square? A requiem for the gerontocracy of Deng Xiaoping and of Li Peng? Surprisingly, it is not. It is a description of the "returned student movement" of 1900-1911. In an almost chillingly similar manner the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), like the government of Deng's "Four Modernizations," sent students abroad to study. These students returned imbued with a zeal for democracy, a zeal that would help destroy the very regime that had sent them abroad.

In the two decades immediately preceding the Revolution of 1911, the intellectual class in China experienced a "radicalization" of their attitudes and world view that transformed a substantial number of them from bureaucratic traditionalists into "revolutionary"-minded zealots, bent on the destruction of the classic Manchu political system.

Along with the threat of China's piecemeal dismemberment by the Western and Japanese powers, perhaps the greatest catalyst for substantive change during this period was the influence of these "returned students." The overwhelming majority of these students were educated in Japan. The United States military attache at Peking observed shortly after the Revolution,

... the revolution has been largely effected through the work of the Chinese who have gone to school in Japan during the last ten to fifteen years

... During the past few years the remark has been heard on all sides that the returned Japanese students were revolutionary in their spirit... They returned to China republicans rather than monarchical reformers."¹

It is of course very easy to notice the obvious change in the attitudes of the returned-students, what is extremely more difficult is to determine what actually happened during their stay in Japan to make them change so dramatically. But perhaps we may make some general observations about the influence of Meiji Japan upon China's youth during this period. In that vein, we may safely say that Japan played five important roles in the "radicalization" of Chinese students. First, Japan acted as a translator, transmitter and interpreter of Western thought to Chinese intellectuals. Second, it served as a model, precursor, and social experiment in Western political systems. Third, it certainly acted as an educational system, training bureaucrats, militarists, technologists, revolutionaries, in short the future influential people of China. Fourth, it served as a haven for Chinese social discontents and revolutionaries and as an incubator for revolutionary activity. Fifth, it worked as a catalyst. It was a nationalistic state whose imperialist actions caused significant reaction among the Chinese and thereby influenced their world view.

Let us deal initially with some of the reasons why Japan was put in these positions and why the Chinese influx of students occurred.

First of all, and probably most important, the nineteenth century had been a very hard one for the Chinese. They had managed to lose no less than five wars to the Western powers, and had suffered the

disgrace of having their customs and tariffs removed from under their control. They had surrendered jurisdiction over nationals from the Western countries. They had been saddled with enormous and crushing indemnities, but worst of all, they had been bludgeoned into the stark realization that the once proud and haughty China was inferior to almost all of the "barbarians" in terms of not only military technology, but in the realms of science and other technologies.²

By the last quarter of the century, the leaders of China began to realize that it was imperative that modernization of at least their military capabilities and hardware would have to take place before the West completely dismembered China piecemeal.

So it was that in 1872 that a total of 111 boys were sent to the United States to study for a period of five to fifteen years. Although the plan was moderately successful in that China realized a few good leaders from the project, it was too expensive (\$1,200 per student per year) and much too slow to offset the Western encroachment in China. Nor did it keep pace with the continuing progress of the West.³ Added to this problem, was the inertia of traditional-thinkers in China who refused to accept the newly-returned students as either intellectuals (they did not hold the traditional scholar-gentry degrees and were not conversant in the classical precepts, a measure of a man's scholastic accomplishment,) or as leaders that they could follow.

Therefore, the Chinese government began to search for quicker and less expensive alternatives. It began to look in the direction of Japan who by this time had already undergone a radical modernization process of her own. It is only logical that the Chinese would see the

Japanese as an example to be followed because of the similarities in Chinese and Japanese cultures and in their patterns of government.

In 1877 the first Chinese Minister to Meiji Japan took along with him five or six young men who began a study of the Japanese language so that they might act as interpreters.⁴ In 1896 the new Minister took along thirteen young men chosen for their intelligence. A few returned to China rather quickly, almost half within the year, but seven finished a three-year language course.⁵

By this time, the military leaders in China began to realize that they must take matters of modernization into their own hands, and began themselves to send students abroad to study. The modernizing Foochow and Shanghai Arsenals managed to send some of their more intelligent technicians abroad to study forging, ballistics, artillery and other weaponry.⁶

The real turning point in the number of students sent abroad and in the relative rapidity with which the Chinese began to modernize was the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 in which the Chinese were routed militarily and shown to be seriously inferior technologically. Proponents for modernization began to spring up everywhere and there was no lack of suggestions placed before the Emperor as to what should be done to realize Chinese modernization.

Chang Chih-tung, at various times governor of various provinces and sometime-military leader, drafted a memorial to the Emperor titled, *Exhortation to Learn*, advocating an intensified program of education for Chinese youths, especially to Japan. His stated reasoning was,

"First, Japan is closer and involves less expense, second, (the students sent) are close to China and easy to supervise. Third, the Japanese language is close to Chinese and easy to master. Fourth. . . the Japanese have already expunged the parts (of Western books) not essential to Western learning and modified these (books). Since Chinese and Japanese conditions and customs are similar, it is easy to imitate Japan, reaping twice the results for half the effort."⁷

Pei-yang Kung-sheuh, (North Sea College) established in 1895, and *Nan-yang King-shueh*, (South Sea College) founded a year later, soon began to provide scholarships to its brightest students for study in Japan.⁸

In 1898, the boom began. In that year, governors Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-i sent thirty students each to Japan, Chekiang Province sent six others,⁹ and the Chinese government sent 66 students to Japan to study Military Science.¹⁰ That same year, the Japanese Imperial Government offered to pay the expenses of 200 Chinese students. This was one of the first expressions of what was later to be called the "Okuma Doctrine", the essential feature being a kind of *noblesse oblige*-type of Pan-Asianism,

"Whereby Japan, having managed to arrive at the benefits of Western modernization, guaranteed to China freedom from Western aggression and aid in revamping her governmental system and reforming her social-intertia."¹¹

The Chinese government quietly ignored this somewhat patronizing offer, but did send additional students to Japan at her own expense.¹² Kang Yu-wei, later to become famous for his lead in the abortive One Hundred Days' Reforms, had by this time drafted his own memorial to the Emperor, in which he said,

"The Japanese have already translated most of the best Western works on all subjects. In making use of what they have done, the Westerners would be the oxen, the Japanese, the farmers, and we the consumers. . . studied by intelligent people the (Japanese) language could be learned in a few months; and thus all of these books could be made into translations, the best of which should be printed and distributed throughout the country. In a few years' time, at a cost of a few tens of thousands (of taels), we could have available the entire corpus of the new learning that has been acquired by the West through (the efforts of) several million people over many centuries."¹³

The Japanese, on their part, formed a number of schools in Japan expressly for the use by Chinese students and began to admit some Chinese into their own Military Officers School.¹⁴ In 1899, they sent a Military Mission to China in which they helped establish and staff a school for Chinese non-commissioned officers. They took back with them a number of Chinese officers and senior enlisted men to study military organization and to observe field maneuvers with the Japanese Imperial Army.¹⁵

Perhaps now would be as good a time as any to separate our examination of the influx of Chinese into Japan into the two trends that developed, namely that that of the students going to Japan to study Military Science as opposed to those that went to study Liberal Arts. Since the need for modernization arose first in the realm of Military Science and technology, we should deal with that facet first.

The military men in China continued to press the throne for an extension of the program of sending students to Japan to study military techniques and maneuvers. They petitioned the throne to allow money for more scholarships for bright

students, their arguments were generally based upon the assumption that the Western nations must be impeded or stopped from encroachment into China and that could only be accomplished by modernizing the military. They reasoned, "If China's education became equal to Japan's, her military officers as able, then her armed forces would be on a par with her neighbor's."¹⁶ Therefore, it became necessary to improve their military education, and the first step obviously, was to train a cadre of young officers, who could assume the training and modernization of a new army.

Yuan Shih-k'ai, the leader of the New Army, began to send students and Chinese cadets to Japan and began to use them in the training of his new conscripts.¹⁷ Chang Chih-tung showed that he realized the efficacy of Japanese military training by sending three of his grandsons to study in Japanese military schools.¹⁸

A government decree in 1904 stipulated that no less than 100 boys between the ages of 14 and 22 be sent each year for such training. The Bureau of Military Training would assume half of the expenses and each individual's home province would be responsible for the other half.¹⁹

Such numbers seemed to the military men to be still inadequate, so they continued to petition for more programs. In 1904-1905 the urgency was amplified by the Russo-Japanese War. Not only had Japan's newly-modernized military succeeded in defeating a long established military nation, but, for the first time, an Asian nation had shown that it could deal with the West on their own terms. The effect of this facet cannot be over emphasized, but we should also make note, as the Chinese did, that the entire war had been fought over Chinese terri-

tory, *without* the consent, indeed without the consultation of the Chinese!²⁰

The schools necessary to train the Chinese had existed in Japan for over four years. In early 1900, the Japanese had begun to admit Chinese students into the *Seijo Gakko*, a prep school used by Japanese cadets to prepare for entrance into the prestigious Military Officers' School.²¹ In 1903, the Japanese had established two other schools expressly for the use of Chinese cadets. Between 1901 and 1907, no less than 521 Chinese graduated from these prep schools and many passed the rigorous entrance examinations at Military Officers' School.²² In 1906, 691 Chinese were in Japanese schools,²³ and by 1910, 620 officers had graduated from Military Officers' School and had returned to be absorbed into the new Chinese Army.²⁴

The Chinese of course, did not rely completely on the number of students who could be sent each year to Japan to study Military Science, they quickly began to form military schools and academies within China to train their own officers and N. C. O.'s (non-commissioned officers). By 1912, China had established 27 primary schools, 4 middle schools, 15 surveying schools and a military college for nobility, all for the military training of troops and officers.²⁵ These schools in the beginning were staffed by foreign teachers, primarily Japanese, but gradually, the Army began to develop their own teachers, mostly those who had been trained in Japan.²⁶

Unfortunately for the Chinese government, many of these returned-students had while in Japan absorbed much of the revolutionary thought that flourished there. As we shall see more in detail later, the Chinese military students sometimes were greatly involved in the revolutionary

process themselves, but those that were not, were certainly hard-pressed not to be influenced by both the revolutionary thought of their Chinese friends, but also by the "liberal" ideas of their Japanese teachers and fellow students.²⁷

"Already by 1911 there were possibly 800 officers serving in the army who had trained in Japan. Since a large number of them were troop commanders, staff officers, or instructors, their influence was widespread and their technical knowledge was an asset to the Lu Chun (The Army). Nevertheless, they were a threat to the old order, for a large proportion of them were by conviction adherents of republicanism who would seek to overthrow the Imperial system."²⁸

We are told that in 1908, there were 341 Chinese students in the 4th, 5th, and 6th terms at the Military Officers' School and that at least one hundred of them were committed to the revolutionary ideas of the Tung Meng Hui (Revolutionary Alliance under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen)²⁹, we can only hazard a guess as to how many more were at least sympathetic to such ideas.

Many of the students sent to Japan to study Military Science became impatient with the slowness of modernization and by the conservative inertia shown by members of the government. They felt that unless the country posed a military deterrent to foreign encroachment, and demonstrated in a very real and obvious way that it could no longer be thought of lightly; dismemberment by the Western powers was not only imminent, but inevitable. Radical measures must be taken to ensure the independence of China.³⁰

Those officers and N. C. O.'s trained in Japan were among the first to voice

their dissatisfaction with the slowness of modernization. Many of those Japanese-trained officers spread propaganda, created discord and became involved in revolutionary intrigue. They discussed their revolutionary ideas and aspirations among their cohorts and won new converts to their cause. It is not surprising that once the revolution did break out these officers were among the first to switch their units of the New Army over to the side of the revolutionaries.³¹ They used their influence as instructors in the training schools to win converts to their cause, they succeeded in many cases in winning over their own commanding officers. They stressed the need for unity and pride in the Chinese nation, they tried to overcome the provincialism that China had so long been accustomed to. The military attache of the United States observed that the returned students, "possessed a feeling of community, a clannishness... that cut across the usual provincial loyalties."³²

The Japanese-trained officers continued to play an important and influential part in the history of China after the Revolution, many making the transition from "radical-minded" ideology to socialism, anarchism, and finally communism. Of course there were many among them that retained a more conservative and traditional outlook, but it would seem very likely that their experiences while in Japan had a lasting effect on them.

Perhaps we should return to that section we have already alluded to briefly, the students engaged in the more liberal education in Japan that were more directly involved with the radicalization process that occurred among the Chinese students in Japan.

To go back to the turn of the century,

the same rationale for sending students to Japan to study military science, that of improving the country vis a vis the Western nations, also applied to the reasoning for sending students to learn political systems and other related sciences. Chang Chih-tung said in another memorial to the Emperor.

"... unless men of ability are trained, it is impossible to strive for (national) survival; unless schools are opened, it is impossible to train men of ability; unless the civil and military examinations are reformed, it is impossible to open schools; unless the students study abroad it is impossible to remove the deficiencies in opening schools."³³

So taking these suggestions in mind, the throne issued decrees stating that students should be encouraged to go to Japan to study, especially through scholarships and promises of employment once they had returned.³⁴

By 1901, there were 280 men and women studying in Japan³⁵. The next year, the government noted that there were 270 students paying their own way in Japan that came from Southern China; and 19 from the north. Those on scholarships included 108 from the south and 55 from the north.³⁶ Two years later, in 1904, there were about 1300 students in Japan.³⁷ The next year saw the real influx of students due to the influences of the Russo-Japanese War. By January of 1905 the number had jumped to nearly twice the 1904 figure, 2,400, but the real jump occurred during the next two years, in September, the number had increased to 15,000, probably the high point.³⁸ This figure represents approximately four to seven times the total number of students in the United States and Europe.³⁹

The rapid increase can be linked to a number of causes and influences not the least of which being the results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, let us examine some other causes.

First of all, the Chinese government had offered as many incentives to entice the students to study in Japan, including promise of employment and honor. In 1905, the government made it very clear that returned students could expect recognition for their progress once they returned home, in that year, it granted degrees and employment to fourteen recently-returned students.⁴⁰ In that same year, the government abolished the traditional examination system and announced that henceforth, new examinations would be given to those students who had studied abroad with prowess in the "new learning" being the criteria for degrees and government employment.⁴¹

"Without the old examinations there was no longer the reservoir from which China had drawn her government officials and military officers. New methods of recruitment had to be found, new opportunities were created, and a new type of bureaucracy and army began to grow."⁴²

Also, the new educational system that had been initiated in 1901 created a demand for more teachers that was filled mainly by returning students.⁴³ Many students were employed on a quota system by which any province could claim the same number of students for employment as they had provided scholarships.⁴⁴

The majority of students were in Japan on some kind of scholarship, many tied to the province that supported them. Some provinces provided only a few, others, such as Hupeh, who in 1908 provided 475 scholarships⁴⁵, were more

generous with their funds.

Many of the students in Japan were involved in abbreviated and superficial training, about 60% of the students in 1906 could be classified in this category. 30% were enrolled in elementary courses, 3-4% in high schools, 1% in university study and 5-6% were classified as, "perpetually transferring from one school to another".⁴⁶ These trends would have

serious consequences for the government later. The point was that more travel abroad entitled one to some prestige at home, and even partial and superficial education meant some kind of recognition in China.⁴⁷

In 1906, the government began a full program of examination and reward limited to people who had studied abroad. The criteria,

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	AWARDS
(1) Honor graduates of Japanese secondary schools	Pa-kung (B.A.)
(2) Honor graduates of Japanese Government high schools or equivalents	Chu-jen (M.A.)
(3) Graduates of selected programs in Japanese Universities	Chin-shih (Ph.D.)
(4) Graduates of Japanese Government Universities	Chin-shih and Han-lin (Academician)
(5) Doctors of Japanese Government Universities	Chin-shih, Han-lin and a promotion

The government also made it mandatory that all teachers in the Chinese colleges had to be graduates of foreign universities or of the Chinese Research Academy,

"But since the latter institution existed only on paper, this stipulation effectively made teaching in China's colleges the exclusive domain of the foreign-trained students."⁴⁹

Other facets that induced Chinese students to study abroad were the formation of provincial councils in 1909 and later the formation of a National Assembly. The provincial councils required between 30 and 140 members each and most were filled by returned students.⁵⁰

Another real consideration both for

the students and for the government who provided scholarship was the "bargain" of studying in Japan as opposed to the high cost of sending a student to the West. Between 1909 and 1910, the average cost per student per year in the United States was 1,454 taels. The cost for a student in Europe was 1,536 taels. The cost per student at home in China averaged out to 439 taels, but the cost for those in Japan was only 343, actually lower than at home.⁵¹

We may add the incentives added by opportunity of employment with some of the "modern" firms in China. The Commercial Press, the leading publishing house in China at the time had the following criteria for salary and positions;

A Chinese college graduate with some experience received \$80 a month

and was provided with a desk three by one foot and half in size, whereas a graduate of a Japanese college was paid \$100 to \$200 and was allowed a desk three feet by two feet. Those who had graduated from Japanese Imperial Universities received \$150 and were permitted a desk four feet by two feet and one half, in addition to book shelves, a rattan chair and a crystal inkwell."⁵²

We have briefly examined the reasons for students going or being sent to Japan and have shown something of Japan as an educational instrument (physically) let us now turn to Japan as a translator and transmitter.

As we have noted before, people like K'ang Yu-wei and Chang Chih-tung had recognized that it would be easy to use Japanese translations of Western works. It would be far more difficult to translate precise Western words and terms into the ideogeographic characters of the Chinese language than to rely upon the Japanese to do the same thing since the Japanese used practically the same characters in their language. Since the Japanese had gone through similar roads of political, social, and philosophical development, the Chinese felt they could be trusted to have, "already expunged the parts not essential to Western learning."⁵⁴

The Chinese during the period between 1850 and 1899 had depended upon the Japanese very little for their translations of Western works. They had the benefit of direct translations by some Westerners who had taken the trouble to have learned Chinese, primarily missionaries. Some Chinese students who had studied in the West provided the Chinese with other translations, primarily in the fields of Military Science, Natural Sciences and related technological fields.⁵⁵ During that period, 567 works were translated

into Chinese, of these, 40% were applied sciences, 30% in natural sciences, 10% in history and geography, 8% in the social sciences, and only 3.5% concerning religion, philosophy, literature and the fine arts. Almost 85% of these works were direct translations from Anglo-American sources, the remainder from Japanese.⁵⁶

But after the turn of the century, the trends shifted radically. More books were translated into Chinese in just two years, between 1902 and 1904, than had been translated in the previous half-century. A total of 573 books were translated, of which, 10.5% from applied sciences, 21% from natural sciences, 24% from history and geography, 25.5% in the social sciences, 6.5% from philosophy, and 4.8% in literature. More important for our purpose, was that now 62.2% were translations from Japanese and less than 18% from Anglo-American sources.⁵⁷ Clearly the emphasis had shifted. Some credit must be given to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 in which,

"The narrowness of China's modernization program became fully apparent; men of foresight realized clearly that she must broaden her understanding of the West beyond merely military and industrial techniques, to include studies of political institutions, economic systems, social structures and scientific as well as philosophical thought. Translations of Western works in those fields became a paramount to reform and renovation."⁵⁸

We now begin to find that Japanese translations of writers like Bakunin, Bentham, Darwin, Engels, Huxley, Kropotkin, Locke, Marx, Mazzini, Mill, Montesquieu, Proudhon, Rousseau, Spencer, Adam Smith and a great number of other lesser-known liberal thinkers were re-translated into Chinese.⁵⁹ The

Chinese students in Japan began to read and discuss such works and published journals and newspapers dedicated to translations of Western works into Chinese.⁶⁰ It appears that with a few notable exceptions such as Yen Fu, most of the modernizers and what were to become the revolutionaries, could read no other foreign language except Japanese.⁶¹ Some became proficient in the language and a few like Sung Chiao-jen earned their livings while in Japan by translating Japanese articles and books into Chinese.⁶²

Of course the mechanics of translation caused some serious problems in continuity of original intended thoughts and theories. More often than not, it appears that the Japanese interpreted as they translated, not because of laxity of standards, but because it was necessary in order to try and bring across complex ideas from one culture to another. How does one translate such concepts as "Puritan Christian Ethic", or "Divine Rights of Kings" into Japanese or Chinese? Such concepts are almost culture-bound to such an extent that even if such terms were precisely definable in their native tongue (and there are doubts as to the possibility), it would be difficult at best to approximate their meaning to one who does not have the necessary background in Judeo-Christian concepts and theories. Many Japanese tried to translate approximate concepts and ideas rather than faithful verbatim, and in so doing, they imparted part of themselves and of their own world view into their translations.⁶³

Also, some of the works translated into Chinese from Japanese were original Japanese works, some of them commentaries on Western works, but often original theories and concepts developed by the Japanese themselves, who after all, had internalized the Western thought and were

now formulating their own ideas.⁶⁴

As to the relative influence of the Japanese upon the Chinese radicalization process, we are admittedly treading upon thin ice, but it is some indication of how much the Chinese depended upon the Japanese for some concepts if we examine the amount of "loan words" in the Chinese language today. Out of 1,285 "loan words" not native to Chinese, 468 are of Japanese origin, most being Japanese approximations of Western words and ideas.⁶⁵ Indeed, the term that the Chinese now accept as the word for "revolution" — "ko-ming", was first used by the Japanese press in 1895 to describe the actions of a revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen.⁶⁶

We can only hazard a guess on how garbled some Western concepts and ideas became through this translation/interpretation process.

Some changes, abbreviations, and mistakes in the Japanese versions were in turn re-translated into Chinese with more changes, alteration, and mistakes. How could this work retain its original form? If a Russian work were translated into German or English (which was more common than direct translations from Russian to Japanese) with some mistakes, then re-translated into Japanese with more mistakes, the Chinese translation from the Japanese would then be a collection of mistakes from mistakes.⁶⁷

The introduction of such world-view concepts as socialism, anarchism and communism came to the Chinese from the Japanese also. In 1902, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who with K'ang Yu-wei is considered the greatest of the reformists of that period, founded a publishing house in Shanghai which printed translations of Japanese works and translations of Western books

on Socialism.⁶⁸ The works that the Japanese had chosen to translate were by American authors, who although not socialist themselves, were sympathetic to the European brand of Social Democracy and Utopian Socialism. Therefore, the beginnings of the Chinese Socialist movement developed along these same lines.⁶⁹ It had appealed to Liang (as it did to most Japanese socialists) because socialism, as presented in its idealistic form, "Seemed in many ways more sympathetic and less revolutionary than liberalism and Social Darwinism with their creeds of individual struggle and competition."⁷⁰ So it appears that because so many Chinese intellectuals were almost totally dependent upon the Japanese translations for their "supply" of Western concepts and ideas, the Japanese must have had some real influence upon the Chinese. Liang admitted

...since coming to Japan, I have widely collected Japanese books and read them...My mind as a result changed, my thinking and words have become different from before as to appear to be those of a different person. I have read Japanese newspapers daily, becoming so involved in Japanese political affairs that they seem to be those of my own country. My relationship with Japan can indeed be called intimate. Many habits have become so deeply ingrained in my mind that I cannot forget them even if I wanted to."⁷¹

We may safely conclude that Japan functioned as a transmitter, translator and interpreter of Western thought to the Chinese. As to whether it played any real part influencing the radicalization of the Chinese intellectual is yet to be seen.

Let us first consider the aspect of Japan as a haven for fugitives, discontents and revolutionaries. Japan had

...welcomed all types of political refugees from China, whether they were revolutionaries who were plotting to overthrow the existing government, or supporters of a government that had just been overthrown. The best way of serving Japanese interests, it was thought, was by helping to power those who were well disposed towards Japan and who need Japanese support to maintain their position."⁷²

Such diverse (politically and philosophically) "outlaws" such as reformist-constitutionalist K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'ich'ao fled to Japan after their attempt to institute reforms in China during 1898.⁷³ Others such as Sung Chiao-jen, Hu Han-min, Wang Ch'ing-wei, Huang Hsing, Chang P'ing-lin and Sun Yat-sen had to take refuge in Japan when the pressures in China became intolerable or when a price was put on their heads.⁷⁴ They gravitated to the largest city, Tokyo where there could be some measure of anonymity for them from the Chinese government agents, and where they could band together with like-minded people.

Tokyo became in fact, 'the center of the new thought movement', for the students and the political exiles in Japan were the ones who led the intellectual transformation of China during the two crucial decades between 1895 and the beginning of the May Fourth Movement. And they were the recipients and transmitters of Japanese influence — some of them translated Japanese books; others wrote or talked about their newly-acquired ideas. The influence of Meiji Japan... must be seen against this general background of vigorous Chinese reception of Japanese influence."⁷⁵

The refugee-revolutionaries who now were established in Japan found that the influx of Chinese students who were

young and impressionable were easy converts to their revolutionary platforms. The revolutionaries were able to refine their thinking and arguments by constant discussion and debate among themselves and were simply able to overwhelm the callow and politically naïve young students they came in contact with while in Japan.

Away from his usual surroundings, a student in Japan no longer needed to fear the consequences of political unorthodoxy, either for himself or for his family. Indeed, the pressure was now operating in the opposite direction! On their arrival, thousands of Chinese congregated in a single district of Tokyo, with little to occupy their time except political discussion with their fellow expatriates. Predisposed to compare all things by a national measuring rod, they saw in everyone of their experiences a reminder of China's debility."⁷⁶

The reasons that had brought them to Japan to study made them feel that they were important and that matters were urgent. They had listened to all those who had encouraged them to come to Japan and study, to improve themselves through acquisition of the "new learning" and thereby improve the situation of China. They felt an urgency to be about the business of modernizing and strengthening China and felt somewhat helpless as they were forced to sit back and watch China slip into even further inferiority.⁷⁷ As they acquired new knowledge, and discovered new and exhilarating theories, they felt the urge to try and put them into use. Most of all they felt outraged that China had been allowed to fall into such a state of debility and wondered aloud why those that had sat idly by while China had deteriorated were still

running the country!⁷⁸

They resented the power of the Western nations at the same time they envied it, they were stirred by the vigor and promise of Japan's modernization. In Japan they could sense the strength of the community among people, they were awed at the industry and patriotism of these people who fifty years before had been in straits similar to their own.⁷⁹ They could not ignore the fact that the Japanese had taken the Western example of political systems, had adapted and adopted Western techniques to fit their own circumstances, and had succeeded in not only attaining parity with most of the Western nations militarily, but had actually defeated a Western power!

We must not assume that they wished to emulate completely the Japanese model because having lived in Japan while they studied, they had also noticed the authoritarian nature of the Japanese government and had noticed flaws, anachronisms and inefficiencies.

It is a striking feature of the revolutionaries' interest in the experience of other countries, that except in regard to Japan, they spoke less of copying or imitating than they did of learning from others' mistakes and avoiding them. In the case of the Japanese, the revolutionaries particularly stressed that their goals for China had successfully been accomplished elsewhere... They pointed to Japan not as an example of republicanism, but as proof that a weak and threatened country could quickly become a powerful and independent one."⁸⁰

They felt that in the Japanese experience, they could detect trends and techniques that they could apply to their own modernization process. They felt that having such knowledge at hand, and knowing

which paths to avoid, they could even improve on the Japanese model. What had taken Japanese some forty years to accomplish on her own, China could do in twenty.⁸¹ They felt very strongly about this "great leap" theory, that China could adopt the very latest and very best principles and techniques to their strengthening of China. Why go through all the hardships and pitfalls that others had encountered in their development? Better to start with the best and improve on it!⁸²

It seemed as if daily the Japanese were proving this point by constantly astounding the West by their development and industry. Surely China, with its superior history of culture and civilization, with its superior natural resources and population could do as much if not more.⁸³ But it was this very attitude that caused many Chinese to become increasingly revolutionary. Their impatience grew by the hour, they were prepared to mount the attack against the forces of conservatism and inertia and to modernize and strengthen China overnight. Why were not the leaders of China? Worse still, the few gradualist steps that the government was willing to take that direction even infuriated the revolutionaries more because they were half-hearted and insufficient.⁸⁴

On every land they heard talk (from the Japanese and fellow Chinese) of the virtues of revolution as a purge for a decadent and effete land, such as France had once been and China had now become. Republicanism was exalted and monarchy, especially that of the Manchus denounced. Many of these young men, enjoying for the first time government support, a sufficiency of time for discussion, and release from family control, quickly acquired catchwords of the milieu and became themselves vigorous proponents of

republicanism for China."⁸⁵

Added to these ideas, were the influences of the different groups that either attached themselves to the Chinese revolutionary movement or moved in concentric circles with it. A number of revolutionaries, socialists, anarchists and other discontents from Russia, who had fled to Japan after their abortive December 1905 Revolution. We are told of how they met with "fellow" revolutionaries of China and shared ideas and plot techniques. Some Russians taught the Chinese how to make bombs and how to strangle and assassinate.⁸⁶

Other influences included various Japanese factions. Kotoku Shusui, the famous Japanese socialist and labor agitator is said by many to have almost single-handedly converted the entire nascent Chinese Socialist Party (along with the majority of his own Japanese Socialist Party) over to the tenets of anarchism-syndicalism.⁸⁷

There was also the influence of Japanese Pan-Asianists including the Miyazaki brothers who had befriended Sun Yat-sen early in his career and provided him with money and favors till their deaths.⁸⁸ There were others of the same persuasion who wished to form a coalition between Chinese and Japanese to drive the West completely out of Asia. Some among them were willing and committed to assisting the Chinese in ridding themselves of their "foreign oppressors" the Manchus, a few died fighting on the side of the revolutionaries in various revolutionary attempts including the final successful Revolution of 1911.⁸⁹

There were of course a significant number of Japanese who had tried merely to use the Chinese to further the expan-

sionist goals of Japan, but even they had a radicalizing effect upon the Chinese who reacted to such shabby treatment with the idea that they had been treated so only because they were nationals of a weak and decadent nation.⁹⁰

Everything seemed to point to one solution, revolution in China, the establishment of an alternative system of government, a rapid and complete modernization of the military, the independence of China and then, and only then, deal with the other ills and deficiencies in China.⁹¹

We could also mention the influence of Japanese political scientists such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kato Hiroyuki, Tokutomi Soho, Nakamura Masanao, Minobe Tatsukichi, Kakehi Katsuhiko, Onozuka Kiheiji, and Hozumi Yatsuka to name but a few, who wrote extensively on the modernization process, the nature of nationalism, the problems of synthesizing Western and Eastern cultures and ideas, the techniques of adaptation to new ideas and experiences, in short, all the problems that the Chinese were wrestling with at that very moment.⁹²

Some, like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao saw in the Japanese experience a model to closely emulate,⁹³ others saw Japan as merely an example and proof of their theories.⁹⁴ What is important is that Japan played a very real and important part in the radicalization and education of the revolutionaries in this period, sometimes negatively, sometimes more positively. We must remember that almost an entire generation of Chinese intellectuals grew

up in the Japanese environment. Some 30,000 students went to Japan during the first ten years of the century alone.⁹⁵ 117 of the men who reached the rank of Brigadier General and above were educated in Japan;⁹⁶ a full third of the people listed in "Who's Who in China" in 1916 were educated in Japan;⁹⁷ the majority of those that served on the National Assembly and in the Cabinet of the first Republic of 1912 had been educated in Japan.⁹⁸

We could go on it seems indefinitely, but let the following thoughts suffice. First, the Chinese government saw the returned-students as a substantial enough threat to warrant surveillance.⁹⁹ Second, enough people within the Chinese governmental bureaucracy suspected the Japanese-trained students of being revolutionaries that one proposed in a memorial to the Emperor that all Japanese-trained employees be dismissed and that no more others be allowed to take the examinations for employment.¹⁰⁰ Third, enough outsiders thought they saw evidence of revolutionary change in returning students that one could make such a statement as we open this paper with. Enough radical and revolutionary zeal was demonstrated by those Japanese-trained officers in the New Army to deserve the credit for turning the tide of the 1911 Revolution.¹⁰¹ Finally, enough change occurred for various historians to brand Japan as the, "center of the Chinese revolution"¹⁰² and to say such things as, "The expansion of the revolutionary activity on the mainland grew directly out of the student movement in Japan."¹⁰³

NOTES

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- ¹⁸ *Ibid*.
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- ²⁸ *Ibid*, p.291.
- ²⁹ Hatano, *Armies*, p.374.
- ³⁰ Gasster, *Intellectuals*, p.168, 244.
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- ¹⁰⁰Wang, *Intellectuals*, p.77-78.
- ¹⁰¹Powell, *Military*, p.291.
- ¹⁰²Cameron, *Reform*, p.79.
- ¹⁰³Gasster, *Intellectuals*, p.36.

Sage-Musicians of Chinese Antiquity

Lulu Chang

It is uncertain that any Chinese musician of antiquity ever viewed himself as such — an individual whose primary function was to perform or compose music. In early Chinese society, musicianship alone was not considered to contribute to being deemed a gentleman. It was, however, a requirement for admission to the status of scholar or court official. Thus music played a major role in social and political life.

This paper will examine the life and work of distinguished sages and emperors from the musical viewpoint: 1) Confucius 孔子 of the Spring Autumn Warring State Period — (770 - 221 B.C.) 春秋戰國. 2) Szu-ma Shiang-ju 司馬相如 of the Han Dynasty 漢朝 (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). 3) Chi Kang 嵇康 and Yuan Hsian 阮咸 of the Tsin 晉 and Wei 魏 Dynasties (240 - 534 A.D.). The emperor-musicians were: 1) Han Kao-tsu 漢高祖 (206 - 195 B.C.) — the first emperor of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). 2) Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (139 - 87 B.C.) — the second emperor of the Han dynasty. 3) Tang Hsuan-tsung 唐玄宗 (712 - 756 A.D.) — emperor of the Tang dynasty 唐朝 (618 - 906 A.D.).

Confucius the Musician (551 - 479 B.C.)

**“Aroused by the Odes,
Perfected by Music”**

Confucius was born in the state of Lu 魯¹ into a family enjoying aristocratic

privileges. His philosophy, embodying ideals and values the Chinese people had held and cherished for generations, had a great impact on Chinese civilization. We have access to this philosophy in the “Analects” 論語 based on his students’ lecture notes. Though concise, the Analects show an affectionate insight into the moods and sentiments of others.

As a young music student, Confucius excelled in his performance of the Chin 古琴, an ancient Chinese zither with seven silk strings. After learning to play the instrument for only ten days, Confucius said to his Master Hsiang-tze 襄子 “I have learned the tune, but have not yet understood the meaning.” A few days later when the instructor suggested that it was time to move on, Confucius on the other hand answered his Maestro “I am just beginning to visualize a personality being defined by the music.” Hearing these words, Hsiang-tze bowed at his ardent student and responded. “This piece of music WEN-WANG TSAO 文王操 was composed in praise of Emperor Wen-Wang.”²

While Confucius was an official in the kingdom of Lu 魯, he spent three months in the State of Chi 齊 absorbed in the music of Shao 韶 — even forgetting the taste of meat. 子在齊聞韶，三月不知肉味。

In the “Analects” there are several instances where we read of his playing musical instruments. On one occasion it was stated that Confucius was playing the

stone chimes when an old man passed by the door and made the comment: "How regrettable that you play those ringing chimes when there is no audience to appreciate them." But the Master's response was, "How set he is in his ways, for he knows only the easy path." Confucius showed preference between the different types of music on various occasions. It was quoted in the *Analects*: "The song of Shao 韶 is beautiful in form, has positive influence — promoting song and dance. But the song of Cheng 鄭聲, while also beautiful in form, has negative influence — invoking disturbing emotions."

During the later days of Confucius' wanderings he sang and played the chin as always in spite of difficult times. One of his students ventured to ask him how he could go on singing when they were so hungry. He replied: "The wise man seeks music to strengthen his soul, and the thoughtless man uses it to smother his fears."

In the *Book of Rites* 禮記, it was stated that Confucius worked on the music of Shih-Ching all his life. Whether at home or on the road, his chin was with him. "A scholar is never without the zither," he said. "He, among the gentlemen understands music and ethics through fellowship; what I say to you my fellow students, is like an anecdote."

The founder of classical poetry in Ancient China, Confucius collected an anthology of three hundred and five odes known as "Shih-Ching" 詩經. These rhymed ballads with four words to a line were mostly folk songs of the Hsia 夏 (2205 - 1766 B.C.), Shang 商 (1766 B.C. - 1122 B.C.) and Chou 周 (1122 - 221 B.C.) dynasties. They are basically grouped under three categories:

- A) Ballads sung in the various feudal states; "Feng" 風
- B) Odes sung at entertainments and odes sung on grand occasions of the court; "Ya" 雅
- C) Songs sung at sacrificial ceremonies; "Sung" 頌

These odes of "Shi-ching" provide valuable insights into the customs and beliefs of Chinese antiquity. In them, Confucius mentioned many early musical instruments — flutes, bells, drums and zithers. He was reputed to be the musical editor of the "Shi-ching", according to the historian Szu-ma Chien 司馬遷 (145 - 86 B.C.) in the "History of Records"

史記, that the "Master" sang the three hundred and five song poems in the "Shi-ching", accompanying himself on his chin. Confucius taught and often quoted from the "Shih-Ching". He found a hidden meaning and an appropriate moral to each one of the odes in the collection. Through his effort in teaching and singing the odes, "Shi-ching" gave rise to an extraordinary literary awareness in ancient Chinese society.

Toward the end of his life Confucius claimed that after returning to Lu in 484 B.C. "the music of Shi-ching was put in order. The Ya 雅 category (odes 161 - 262) and Sung 頌 category (266 - 305) were each set in its proper mode." He told his son, "A man who does not know the Shi-ching is one who stands with his face to the wall." To his disciples he emphasized that "Shi-ching will stimulate your thought, and teach you to make friends."

Influenced by these Confucian ethics there is often a moral lesson in Chinese song-poems. This moral concern gave rise to the concept of poetic justice — the idea that virtue is rewarded and vice punished.

It is evident that the song poems which Confucius had chosen for his "Shi-ching" anthology are spontaneously and closely associated with the voices and feelings of the common people. He stated in the *Analects*: "The music played to the singing of the first ode in the Shi-ching is passionate without being sensual, and plaintive without being melancholy."

A great teacher, Confucius wanted to develop a feeling of responsibility in every individual. He believed that educated men, trained in music, poetry and ethics, were the backbone of a stable government. Because of these ideals, Confucius spent many years travelling from state to state teaching his philosophy, now thought to have been put together in writing known as the "Classics". Through Confucius one also learns that early Chinese literature was rich in songs. After the lapse of many centuries the music of these odes has been lost. A few were modified and recorded by court musicians of the later dynasties. It was not until the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 221 A.D.) that the Confucian Classics resumed a prominent place in Chinese society.

Szu-Ma Shiang-Ju, Poet-Musician of the Han Dynasty

Not only was Szu-ma Shiang-ju 司馬相如 a pioneer in Chinese poetics, he had a reputation as a music scholar and virtuoso, according to records in the "History of the Han Dynasty".

Born in the province of Szechuan 四川 in 117 B.C., he was gifted with many talents. As a youth he was a champion swordsman. This skill earned him a position as "royal horseman" to Emperor Han Ching-ti 漢景帝³. Like all men who had intelligence, good looks and magnetism, he soon cultivated the friendship of many

scholar-officials of the court and moved into intellectual circles.

After leaving his post as a royal horseman, Szu-ma Shiang-ju returned to his native city in Szechuan. There he was entertained by one of the influential and rich local dignitaries and cultivated the friendship of the latter's daughter — Cho Wen-chiun 卓文君⁴. It was during the banquet that Cho Wen-chiun first heard the unprecedented sonority of his chin 古琴 performance. This brilliant display of musicianship became the theme of an intimate love. The young couple soon eloped and began a period of poverty together.

After the passing of the Emperor Han Ching-ti, his son was enthroned as Han Wu-ti 漢武帝. The new emperor established the Music Bureau and made Szu-ma Shiang-ju music editor. Szu-ma edited the nineteen sacrificial hymns written by Li Yan-nien 李延年, Chief Executor of the Music Bureau. There are no surviving scores of the nineteen hymns. It was cited in the History Records 史記 that the performance of these hymns, which moved and astonished the audience, utilized the "thousand-voice chorus" and many instruments, including multi-drums and the "thousand-stone bells". The music had a kind of passionate effect that could move the public. It was daring music ahead of its time. This indicates factual record of the excellence of the editorship of the nineteen ritual hymns. Their performance gave much extra musical significance to the different occasions of celebrations in the court.

While holding his official post at the music Bureau, Szu-ma Shiang-ju also wrote his two famous rhyme-prose — "Ta-jen Fu" 大人賦 and "Ai Chin Erh Shih Fu" 哀秦二世賦. They are known as the longest and grandest masterpieces of so-

liloquy in Han literature.

The instrument of Szu-ma Shiang-ju — a chin 琴 which was given the name “Green Beauty” 綠綺, became one of the “Three Rare Zithers” of ancient China. The famous Tang poet Li po 李白 (701 - 762 A.D.) composed a “Song of Praise” to describe the special tone quality of the instrument and the prodigious technique of its performer. His style of treating the instrument was so different from that usually heard that it became renowned.

Chi Kang and Yuan Hsian — the Sages

At the beginning of third century A.D. there appeared in Chinese history a literary group known as the “Seven Sages of the Bamboo Forest” 竹林七賢. These seven intellectuals shared a profound interest in the renewal of the human spirit and in the comprehension of poetics and music, language and literature. They initiated guidelines proposing new freedoms in “musico-poetic” compositions. Their verses are described as “direct” and “natural”.

These men indulged their taste for beauty by meeting in the “Forest of Bamboo Trees.” They are like the Italian “camarata” group who paved the way for the Renaissance spirit of awakening to the arts. Among the seven sages two names stand out in the history of Chinese music — Chi Kang 嵇康 and Yuan Hsian 阮咸 of the Tsin 晉 and Northern Wei 北魏 dynasties (240 - 534 A.D.)⁵

Chi Kang

Chi Kang 嵇康 was acclaimed as an exceptional virtuoso — a talented Chin 古琴 or classical zither performer. He was born in 262 A.D. His father died when he

was a child and the family lived in poverty. As a young man his noble character and straightforward personality brought him to the attention of the other sages of the group and he was soon learning from them.

Due to the political turmoil of the period there were many officials who betrayed themselves to surrounding enemies. Chi Kang, however, would not bend his righteous principle to the intrigues of the ruling party. He daringly wrote a letter of protest to the person who was plotting to crown himself the next king of Tsin. The letter was brought to the attention of the court, and Chi Kang soon became an enemy in the eyes of the ministers.

Soon after this event another of Chi Kang's friends sharing the same political views was condemned as a traitor. Feeling the injustice done, Chi Kang tried to defend his friend. As a result, he himself was sentenced to death. It was noted in the History Records that on the day the death sentence was passed, Chi Kang sat in the sun and asked his brother to pass him his zither. Facing his shadow, he played the famous “Tune of Kwang-lin” 廣林散, one of his own compositions, until he gave up his last breath of life.

The “Tune of Kwang-lin” is a melodic theme of descriptive effect. In his music the composer reveals how his experience affects his attitude toward the world. The melody has an extra-musical stimulus which is tinged with melancholy. The theme is intensely, even piercingly melodic. In the Book of Tang 唐書, it was recorded that Chi Kang composed this work during his younger days when he was relaxing in a lakeside pagoda.

According to history, one day a passer-by, after hearing the performance of this tune, asked the composer to teach him

the piece and refrain from teaching the tune to anyone else. Since then, the "Tune of Kwang-lin" was never performed in public. Years later, the manuscript was found in the memoirs of the composer's friend. As a matter of fact, the friend had recorded the notes without the performer's knowledge. It was not until 785 A.D., i.e. the Tang dynasty, that music scholars started to revive the only surviving manuscript of this tune, making it one of the rare treasures of early music.

As a musician, Chi Kang spent his lifetime learning and working on the technique of his performance. Through music he won the friendship and admiration of many scholar-officials of his time. Among his great contributions to music was his "Aesthetical Analysis of Tone and Musical Harmony".

This work constitutes an early study in Chinese music theory. Also he prefaced the "Encyclopedia of Chin 琴 Music" known as "Chin Fu" 琴賦. This anthology is usually referred to as the earliest scholarly work on the form and content of the chin or ancient Chinese zither.

Yuan Hsian

The other great virtuoso among the seven sages was Yuan Hsian 阮咸. He was born around the third century A.D. in the province of Honan 河南 during the Tsin Dynasty. The exact date is uncertain.

Yuan Hsian's greatest claim to fame was as a musician — a pipa⁶ 琵琶 virtuoso rather than a man of letters.

One of Yuan Hsian's works was a commentary on the ceremonial music of the court. He also reconstructed the family of flutes based on the tuning system of the Han dynasty. The following is a list of his compositions performed during the grand ceremonies of the court:

- 1) Four pieces of "Music for the Rites;
正旦大會行禮歌
- 2) "Banquet Music to Glorify the King" at his Majesty's birthday celebration; 王公上壽酒歌
- 3) A set of songs for court feast and entertainment known as "Song of the West". 西廂樂歌

Yuan Hsian also acted as the music critic of the imperial household. His sharp comments aroused the jealousy of the other ministers. Finally he was stripped of his title and position and given the post of a "Junior Horseman". In spite of this unfair treatment, Yuan Hsian's criticism of the incorrect tuning of the imperial court flutes soon proved valid. A jade tuning fork of perfect pitch from the Chou dynasty was found buried in the countryside. After it was brought to the attention of the imperial court and examined by the scholars, the faults in tuning were exposed. However, by then Yuan Hsian had left public life forever.

Five hundred years after the death of Yuan Hsian, the pipa that was buried with him was dug up during the time of Emperor Tang Hsuan-tsung 唐玄宗 (713-735 A.D.). All that was left of the original pipa was a large round brass frame. Many craftsmen were called in to reconstruct the wood cabinet of this surviving instrument. When it was finally restored under the supervision of a special scholar, the pipa became a new instrument known as the "moon lute" 月琴. At the time of Emperor Tang Teh-tsung 唐德宗 (780-802 A.D.) this "moon lute" became known as the creation of Yuan Hsian and was officially named after him as a sign of respect. So graceful and assuring was the sound of his pipa that he opened up a new era of virtuoso performance — a period in which composers tried to express their personal kind of feeling. His choice of

keys was more adventurous than that of musicians of his time. But above all, he can be regarded as the most perfect, best equipped and most natural virtuoso of Chinese antiquity.

In addition to the four musicians discussed above, three great emperor-musicians distinguished themselves. They lifted their dynasties — the Han and the Tang dynasties into the Golden Era and the Renaissance respectively in the history of Chinese music. These gifted emperor-musicians were:

1) Han Kao-tsu 漢高祖 (206 - 195 B.C.). The first emperor of the Han dynasty. He started his revolution against the last Chin 秦 emperor among the peasantry and won his support from singers, dancers and musicians. As a young man Kao-tsu organized a chorus of one hundred twenty singers as mentioned in the Book of History 史記. He also encouraged the performance of dance groups. The most spectacular being the "Ba Yu Dance" 巴渝舞 — a dance of the minority group from the southwestern region. During his reign, Kao-tsu established the music for ancestral worship and court entertainment.

2) Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (139 - 87 B.C.). The second emperor of Han dynasty. He established the Music Bureau known as "Yueh-fu" 樂府 around 120 B.C. The vast wealth of poetry, folk melodies and ritual hymns examined and refined by the

"Yueh-fu" became known as "Yueh-fu ballads" 樂府詩. The "Yueh-fu" was a bureau consisting of more than eight hundred men. Among them two hundred eighty-six men specialized in the performance of folk melodies and popular airs from different regions.

3) Tang Hsuan-tsung 唐玄宗 (712 - 756 A.D.). Emperor of Tang dynasty. He sat up the Academy of Music and Dance known as the "Pear Garden" 梨園 to train young musicians and dancers and the Chiao-fang 教坊 — headquarters for the training of profession entertainers of the royal household. During this reign, two orchestras were developed. The "standing orchestra" 立伎部 for outdoor performances and the "sitting orchestra" 坐伎部 for chamber concerts. The "grand-suite" 大曲 presentations included dance movements of sixty to one hundred eighty dancers. His reign, known as the High Tang 盛唐, represented the Renaissance period of Chinese music.

Finally, one might ask how could such vital and great musicians be soon forgotten by the people? The answer is that the fame or popularity of the musicians of antiquity is shortlived compared to that of the emperors, warriors and scholars. But few now can dispute the impact of their music in creating innovative song poems and rhyme-prose which played a key role in the social and political life of their eras.

NOTES

¹ Lu 魯 is a small state in the province of Shantung, 山東.

² See "Discussions of Ancient Chinese History" 中國古代音樂史話 by C. Tien, Shanghai Cultural Press, 1982.

³ Han Ching-ti 漢景帝 the early Han emperor who ruled China around the first century B.C. His short reign was marked by the re-creation of ritual and sacrificial hymns.

- ⁴ Cho Wen-chiun 卓文君 — a lady of rare beauty whose name has been chosen as the theme for Chinese opera and drama.
- ⁵ Tsin Dynasty (240 - 299 A.D.) Northern Wei Dynasty (368 - 534 A.D.)
- ⁶ Pipa 琵琶 — an ancient lute first imported into China from Central Asia around third century A.D. During the Tang Dynasty, (from sixth to ninth century A.D.) it was known as the Four Strings Four Frets Pipa.

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The Role of Ginseng in Sino-American Trade and Literary Relations

A. Owen Aldridge

The exporting of the medicinal root and reputed aphrodisiac ginseng from the New World to China represents an important chapter in Sino-American relations of the eighteenth century. The legendary curative powers of the plant originally became known in Europe through the reports of Jesuit missionaries long before Du Halde, some of whom even claimed that it could "revive those at death's door and provide immortality." [Appleby 1982-3: 121] It was also, and still is, widely hailed as an aphrodisiac, perhaps because of the shape of its root, resembling, some say, a phallus and, others, the legs and waist of a man. A Jesuit living in North America, Joseph Francois Lafitau, discovered the existence of the plant in Canada early in the century and used its presence as partial proof of his theory that the two American continents were once joined with China and that human physical and intellectual communication had taken place between them in prehistoric times. Very little is known about the life of this notable French-Canadian ethnologist, not even the exact date of his birth, which took place in Bordeaux toward the end of the seventeenth century. He was sent in 1712 to Sault St. Louis, an Indian village some distance from the present reserve of that name

near Montreal. [Lafitau 1858: 9] Three years later Lafitau noticed a description of Chinese ginseng in an account by Pere Jartoux of his voyage to Tartary in 1709 in Volume X of the Jesuits' *Lettres Curieuses et Édifiantes*. Lafitau then undertook a successful search for an American counterpart. In 1717 he returned to France, and in January of that year the Jesuit scientific periodical *Journal de Trevoux* published a preliminary account of American ginseng from his pen. Here he affirmed that the Iroquois name for the plant is *garentogen* which means, like the Chinese *ginseng* "representation of man" or "resemblance to man." This linguistic similarity, Lafitau believed, could be accounted for only on the supposition of a communication of ideas between the two races and, therefore, of individuals as well. "D'ou l'on pourroit conclure que ces Tartars orientaux ne sont pas si éloignez de Canada qu'on le pense, peut-etre que quand le pais qui est au dela de la Louisiane sera habite, on ne sera pas long tems sans decouvrir ces Tartares." [In English: "From this one might conclude that these oriental Tartars are not so distant from Canada as one might think, and perhaps when the country beyond Louisiana shall be inhabited, it will not be long before these Tartars are

discovered.”] At that time Lafitau had not had the opportunity to learn whether Canadian ginseng has the same medicinal properties as the Chinese, but he affirmed from his own experience that it is an excellent febrifuge. The Indians had assured him, moreover, that it cures pleurisy, dysentery and consumption. In the following year, 1718, Lafitau published in Paris an extension of these preliminary remarks in a formal pamphlet dedicated to the Regent of France, a notorious libertine, *Memoire . . . concernant la precieuse plante du Ginseng de Tartarie decouverte en Canada* [*Memoir . . . concerning the precious ginseng plant of Tartary discovered in America*]. Here Lafitau answers critics who had questioned the identity of his ginseng with the Chinese variety by pointing out how his plant differed from one described by the German medical authority Kempfer, which was not true ginseng, but had been mistakenly regarded as such. Kempfer’s plant had come from Japan, where the people there denied that it has healing virtue and had, therefore, prohibited its being sold as genuine ginseng. Kempfer says the plant he describes also grows in China, where to distinguish it from the true Chinese *ginseng* and the Tartar *dorhata*, it is called *som* and in Tartary, *soasay*, Jartoux, moreover, had described Chinese ginseng growing in a way absolutely conforming to the Canadian plant. Lafitau says that the Indians had told him that they used the native growth as a purge for new-born children [it was too mild for adults], to restore appetite, to reduce fever and to combat dysentery. In connection with the Chinese variety, he quotes the affirmation of Jartoux that ginseng is a part of nearly all Chinese prescriptions. The pronouncements of Jartoux concerning its efficacy were so

extraordinary that Lafitau admits that he had once wondered whether ginseng may not have been a kind of universal panacea or cure-all praised beyond its merits, but he was reassured when he heard that similar claims had been fully vindicated at Leyden by Professor Frederic Dekkers of the College of Medicine. He does, however, express at considerable length doubts concerning the conjecture that the mandragore or mandrake described by Theophrastus conforms to Chinese ginseng. At the conclusion of his memoir, Lafitau informs the Regent, who also had the title of Duke of Orleans, that he was giving the Canadian plant the botanical name *Aureliana Canadensis*, based on the Latin name for Orleans, *Aurelianium*. The name did not stick, however, for in William P. C. Barton’s *Materia Medica of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1817-18), it is called *panax-quinque-folium*, by which it is still known. Modern authorities indicate, moreover, that Chinese and American ginseng are not botanically equivalent, but their “roots are virtually identical in appearance and have the same medicinal uses.” [Appleby 1982-3: 137]

The only unfavorable remark concerning the Chinese in Lafitau’s memoir concerns their knowledge of medicine. Sufficient information about ginseng is still not available, he affirms, “parceque nous ne la connaissons que par des Chinois et des Japonais, qui dans le fonds sont de mauvais medecins, peu instruits des principes de l’anatomie et des regles de l’art.” [because we know it only through the Chinese and the Japanese, who are basically poor physicians, little versed in the principles of anatomy and the rules of the art.] [1858: 31]

Most of what Lafitau says about Chinese ginseng was already to be found in the travels of another Jesuit, Louis

Daniel Le Comte, published under the title *Nouveaux memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine* (Paris, 1696) and translated in the next year as *Memoirs and observations . . . made by L. Le Comte in a late journey through the Empire of China*. Le Comte's remarks on the plant were reprinted in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in the *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* for December and January 1789-90 [pp. 629-30] under the heading "Description of GIN-SENG." After explaining the Chinese etymology of the term, Le Comte lists some of the appellations which have been applied to it such as "the Spirituous Simple, the pure Spirit of the Earth, the Fat of the Sea, the *Panacea*, and the Remedy that dispenses Immortality." It is, according to Le Comte, commonly found under a tree called Kinchu, "little differing from the sycamore." The Chinese make a sweet and delightful cordial from it. It "purifies the blood, fortifies the stomach, adds motion in a languid pulse, excites the natural heat, and augments the radical moisture."

Six years after his pamphlet on ginseng, Lafitau brought out his more famous treatise, *Moeurs des sauvages americains compares aux moeurs des premiers temps* [*Manners of the American Savages Compared with those of Ancient Times*]; expressing his anthropological theories. The latter treatise in two large volumes is a pioneer study of East-West relations containing parallels between the Chinese and the natives of America as well as between American Indians and ancient Greeks and Romans. Lafitau's work has philosophical resemblance to that of a French free-thinker of the preceding century, *La Vertu des paiens* (1641) by Francois de La Mothe le Vayer. Even though the general attitudes of the two

books toward Christianity are almost contrary, both proclaim the essential moral similarities of all men whether or not touched by Christianity. Among biographies of the virtuous ancients, La Mothe le Vayer inserted a panegyric chapter on Confucius, supporting the argument of the Jesuits against their theological enemies the Jansenists that the faculty of reason brings men close to God and could aid in their salvation. In this way, he struck one blow for the Jesuits and another for the religion of nature.

In his *Manners of the American Savages*, Lafitau does not summarize his earlier memoir on ginseng. Indeed his remarks on the plant are quite brief. He merely affirms that ginseng is unlike the coca leaf of South America, which has no nutritive value and is forbidden throughout most of Peru by the Spanish Inquisition. Ginseng, to the contrary, he observes, has marvelous powers and is widely used by North American Indians. Presumably having reread Theophrastus, he surmises that the Greek author had spoken of ginseng in his *History of Plants*, Book I, chapter 13, under the name *Scythica* and adds that the Tartars are truly Scythians. Ginseng, he says, has the "virtue of sustaining, fortifying and replenishing exhausted strength. It has a slight taste of licorice." [II, 141-2].

Perhaps the most important passage in Lafitau's book, at least from the perspective of East-West relations, is that in which he joins his thesis of the parallels in character and behavior of the ancient Greeks and the American Indians with the conjecture, that he shared with several other writers, that China and the native Americans had at one time established physical contact. Lafitau and his suppositions merit a digression at this point from the theme of ginseng and its reputed

virtues. Previous scholarship has emphasized Lafitau's attention to the ancient Greeks. It is equally significant to see what he has said about the Chinese. He declares that whether the Asian and American continents in pre-historic times were contiguous or whether divided by some small bodies of water, the passage from one to the other was easy. He then offers his comparison of the manners of the American natives and those of the Asiatics and the nations comprised under the names of Thrace and Scythia as a kind of evidence "that America had been peopled by the most eastern lands of Tartary." [I, 34] Although the theory is considered as tenable by modern anthropologists, some of Lafitau's parallels border on the trivial, for example, that of resemblances between Indian nocturnal celebrations and Chinese festivals of lanterns. [I, 369]

The theory of ancient contact between China and America was resurrected by another French citizen and pioneer Sinophile, Joseph de Guignes, a few years later. In a *Memoir upon the Ancient Navigations of the Chinese to America, with Some Conjecture upon the Origin of the Americans*, Guignes affirmed that the Chinese had penetrated into America in 458 A. D. by way of Japan and the most easterly part of North Asia, landing somewhere north of California. Others, he believed, passed, not by sea, but by land, through "the most eastern extremities of *Asia*, where the two continents are only separated by a narrow strait, easy to cross." He reported instances of women who made the trip in the opposite direction, traveling from Florida and Canada to Tartary without ever seeing the ocean. Extracts from Guignes' memoir appeared in the foremost English periodical of the century,

the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1753. [23: 607-8].

Lafitau in his *Manners of the American Savages* remarks that he had previously interpreted the fabulous reports of the ancients about monsters, such as people with eyes in their trunks or those without heads, as merely figurative ways of expressing contempt for alien races — much as the Chinese of his day, believing themselves to be the wisest of all men, say that they are the only ones with two eyes — that their neighbors are blind and the Europeans have only a single eye. He changed his mind, however, on reading the account of the Papal legate to China, Mezza-Barba, Patriarch of Alexandria. The Chinese emperor confided to the latter that he had always been extremely reluctant to impose the death sentence in his realm and had, therefore, once refused to sanction the extreme penalty against some men who had spread a story about men without heads, whose eyes were located in the area of the breast and their mouths in that of the stomach. Shortly after his refusal to exact the death penalty, the Emperor felt vindicated in his moderation when he was told that monsters of this kind actually inhabited northern Tartary. [I, 54-66] Lafitau himself, therefore, had fewer doubts concerning the existence of various prodigies of nature, particularly those recounted by an Eskimo girl that there existed in the North entire nations of men who measured only three feet in stature and whose women were even smaller than this, that the tiny men were slaves of the larger ones, and that they were all very happy when given a drink of fresh water, being accustomed to drinking nothing but that containing salt. Incidentally, the only Western writer of the eighteenth century besides Lafitau to quote the Chinese

proverb concerning the Chinese having two eyes, their neighbors one, and the rest of the world none at all, is a Spanish priest, contemporary with Benjamin Franklin, Benito Jeronimo Feijoo, who affirmed that he picked it up from the *Relaciones* of Giovanni Botero.

In order to support his theory that a spirit of religion is universal, Lafitau reports how the Iroquois explain the origin of the earth and of their own nation. In the beginning there were only six men, but no women and no land, merely space. Learning of the existence of a woman in the sky, the six men resolved that one of their number, Hogouaho or the Wolf, try to find her. With the aid of the birds, who made a chair of their bodies, he ascended to the sky and waited for the woman at the foot of a tree, where she ordinarily came for her daily supply of water. The Iroquois brave made her a present of bear grease, and the woman, susceptible to gifts and easy conversation, was seduced with little effort. The master of the Sky in his anger drove her over the brink of the heaven. In her fall the tortoise caught her on his back and the otter and the fish used clay from the bottom of the sea to form an island to hold her, which gradually grew into the form of the world today. From this pristine woman have descended all the generations of mankind, including the tribes of the Iroquois and Hurons, represented by the Wolf, the Bear, and the Tortoise. This narrative now known as the Creation Myth of the Iroquois is still repeated by American Indians. [Hertzberg. 1966 12-22]

Although describing this fable as ridiculous and worthy of pity, Lafitau finds it no more absurd than the Greek fable of Prometheus. He also recognizes in it certain similarities to the Biblical

story of Genesis — both involving a woman in a terrestrial paradise, a tree of knowledge, and temptation to which the woman succumbs. Among various resemblances to Greek mythology, he suggests a parallel between the Indian tortoise and the Greek tortoise upon which the goddess Venus Uranie rested her feet. In this Greek fable, the divine being is conceived as the creator of the harmony of the world and the tortoise the symbol of this harmony. Lafitau, therefore, draws another comparison with the Chinese fable of a tortoise, symbol of the support of the world, giving birth to a dragon, symbol of air and mountains. [II, 99-100] Lafitau believes not only that the spirit of religion exists everywhere in the world, but also that all religions are hieroglyphic. He places the Chinese among the polite nations who have recognized a primordial being with their *Tien Chu*, or master of the heaven, and their *Xang Tu*, or sovereign emperor and sovereign master. [II, 124] In bringing together tales and traditions, both oral and written, of these separate cultures, Lafitau was in a real sense the precursor of Etiemble and other modern experts in comparative literature, who look for invariants or fundamental esthetic resemblances in various national literatures. [Etiemble 1988: 135]

Since Lafitau was a member of the Order of Jesus, it is natural that he should accept the thesis of Jesuit missionaries in China that the dominant religion of that country could be made conformable to Catholicism. In connection with various ancient fables and signs in the West, including the Virgin of the Zodiac, prefiguring the virgin birth of Christ, Lafitau cites manuscripts in his possession from missionaries to China containing extracts from the Five Chinese Classics, the Wu Ching of Confucius. These comprise, in

his words, a "complete precis of the ancient religion of the literate classes, that the Chinese respect, as we respect the Books of Moses These extracts speak of a Virgin Mother & her son in a characteristic manner in so many points that are related to that which our religion teaches that it seems that we cannot mistake them." [I, 235]

As an example of mutual esteem, Lafitau tells of the custom among American Indians of exchanging clothing and other personal items when departing for war. All persons remaining behind in the village hasten to exchange some article of wearing apparel as a token of their admiration for those going off to battle. Lafitau then quotes from Le Comte's *Memoir on China* a passage concerning the departure of a magistrate from one village to another. The inhabitants set up tables along the road where the Mandarin must pass and press him to sample tea, liquors, and cakes. At the same time they exchange various articles of clothing — for the purpose identical with that of the Indians, that of signaling respect. [II, 192-3] Lafitau adds that among the Greeks the custom was extended to one's adversaries, citing as examples Glaucus and Diomedes in the *Iliad* exchanging their armor.

Although it is doubtful that Lafitau's French memoir on ginseng made its way south to the English colonies, knowledge of the miraculous powers attributed to the plant existed there before the English themselves had discovered that ginseng grew in their midst. Lafitau in his memoir affirmed not only that it was to be found among the Ottawa Indians and in the vicinity of Lake Huron, but that it was said to grow in large quantities among the Five Iroquois Nations. If this were true, he assumed, the Dutch of New York

would not be long before taking advantage of its commercial potentialities, for anyone seeing it sold at Montreal by the Indians would immediately ship it to England. [32]. Lafitau's prediction was confirmed. Originally ginseng was exported from Canada to Canton in small quantities by the supercargoes or factors of ships in the French East India Company for their own profit, but in 1751 when the company realized the importance of the commodity it entered the trade itself but without insisting upon its monopoly privilege. Greedy speculators in 1752 attempted to cut short the time needed to bring the ginseng to market. Instead of following the required procedure of harvesting it in September and allowing it to dry naturally in barns without heat for an entire year, they harvested in May and dried the plant artificially. Historians have compared the Canadian ginseng fever in the 1750s to that of the California gold rush a century later. [Lafitau 1858: 5] An account of the excited activity of the traders was given by the Swedish Botanist Peter Kalm during his stay in Canada in 1749.

All the merchants at Quebec and Montreal, received orders from their correspondents in France, to send over a quantity of gin-seng, there being an uncommon demand for it in this summer. The roots were accordingly collected in Canada with all possible diligence; the Indians especially travelled about the country, in order to collect as much as they could together, and to sell it to the merchants at Montreal. The Indians in the neighbourhood of this Town were likewise so much taken up with this business, that the French farmers were not able, during that time, to hire a single Indian, as they commonly do to help them in the harvest. Many people feared lest by continuing, for several successive years, to collect these plants without leaving

one or two in each place to propagate their species, there would soon be very few of them left, which I think is very likely to happen, for by all accounts they formerly grew in abundance round Montreal; but at present, there is not a single plant of it to be found, so effectually have they been rooted out. This obliged the Indians, this summer, to go far within the English boundaries, to collect these roots. After the Indians have sold the fresh roots to the merchants, the latter must take a great deal of pains with them. They are spread on the floor to dry, which commonly requires two months and upwards, according as the season is wet or dry. During that time, they must be turned over once or twice every day, lest they should putrify or moulder. The superior of the clergy here and several other people, assured me that the Chinese value the Canada gin-seng as much as the Tartarian, and that no one has ever been entirely acquainted with the Chinese method of preparing it. [Lafitau 1858: 41]

As a result of the cupidity of the Canadian traders. Their ginseng fell into disrepute in China. In 1754 the value of ginseng exported from Canada fell from 500,000 to 33,000 francs, giving rise to a popular Canadian saying "it will fall like ginseng." [Lafitau 1858: 6]

The plant entered American literature in a classic satirical narrative by William Byrd, *The History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* written in 1728, but not published until the next century. Although Byrd had stated in a previous private letter that ginseng is not an aphrodisiac, or, as he put it, is worthless "in the Feats of Love," he eulogized it extravagantly in his narrative.

Its vertues are, that it gives an uncommon Warmth and Vigor to the Blood, and frisks the Spirit, beyond any other cordial. It chears the Heart even

of a Man that has a bad Wif, and makes him look down with great Composure on the crosses of the World. It promotes insensible perspiration, dissolves all Phlegmatick and Viscous Humours, that are apt to obstruct the Narrow channels of the Nerves. It helps the Memory, and would quicken even Helvetian dulness. It is friendly to the Lungs, much more than Scolding itself. It comforts the Stomach, and Strengthens the Bowels, preventing all Colicks and Fluxes. In one word, it will make a Man live a great while, and very well while he does live. And what is more, it will even make Old Age amicable, by rendering it lively, chearful, and good-humour. [1966: 30]

A similar narrative of American manners, Dr. Alexander Hamilton's *Itinerarium*, written in 1744, and also not published until the twentieth century, records the author's curiosity to see the ginseng plant that he described as "a thing which has been so famous." Hamilton was sceptical of its power, however, believing that "it has really no more than what may be in the common liquorice root mixed with an aromattick or spicy drug." (1948: 6)

Presumably Byrd obtained his information about ginseng from feeling European "books, for the presence of ginseng in the Middle Atlantic colonies was not known until 1738, when Benjamin Franklin announced in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* the discovery by the American-born botanist John Bartram of the plant growing in Pennsylvania. [27 July 1738] "We have the pleasure," Franklin wrote, "of acquainting the World, that the famous Chinese or Tartarian Plant, called *Gin Seng*, is now discovered in this Province, near Susquehannah. From whence several whole Plants with a Quantity of the Root, have been lately sent to Town, and it appears to agree

most exactly with the Description given of it in Chamber's Dictionary, and Pere du Halde's Account of China. The Virtues ascrib'd to this Plant are wonderful." This announcement is significant not only for its botanical information, but also for the evidence that Franklin was then familiar with Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China* three years after its initial publication in Paris in 1735.

In the 1750s and 1760s, as I have already indicated, the China market for American ginseng became glutted in large measure because of unscrupulous merchandizing. According to Peter Collinson, a British botanist and friend of Franklin, it had been "sold under secrecy to the great people for true Chinese Ginseng, but its great plenty soon discovered the cheat, and then it sank to nothing." [Appleby 1982: 137] By the end of the century, however, the market revived, and ginseng constituted the chief cargo on the voyage in 1784 of the first American vessel to Canton, the *Empress of China*. A modern scholar says that the ginseng on the voyage amounted to thirty tons [Goldstein 1967: 27], but the supercargo says that it was just under fifteen. [Shaw 1790: 126] The purser, John White Swift, wrote to his father 3 December 1784, "We brought too much Ginseng. A little of the best kind will yield an immense profit, but all the European Nations trading here bring this Article, and unfortunately this year ten times as much arrived as ever did before." [Swift 1885: 485]

The supercargo of the *Empress*, Samuel Shaw, however, presented a much more optimistic view of ginseng as a trading commodity in his journal, parts of which were later extracted in various American periodicals. In a passage written during his second trip to China during the years 1786 to 1789, he gloated

that while Europeans were obliged to purchase Chinese tea with ready money, [chiefly Spanish silver dollars], Americans could have it on easier terms, that is, by exchanging it for ginseng. "The otherwise useless produce" of America's mountains and forests, Shaw wrote, will "in a considerable degree supply her with this elegant luxury." [Quincy 1847: 231] As proof of his assertion, he cited the success of the *Empress* in procuring a cargo of the same articles as those obtained by Europeans on equally good terms, but with the outlay of but one fifth the ready money. His countrymen have seen this ship again here, on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that too, with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them with the merchandise of this one [China]; and, though only a small proportion of their funds consisted of specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

In November 1787, the *American Museum* published instructions on the "Mode of Curing the Ginseng Root" [II, 448] And the same instructions were given verbatim in the *Massachusetts Magazine* in February 1792 [IV, 102-3].

Gather the root sound and good
(not in the same season when the plant
is in flower) and gently wash it from the
earth, being careful not to break the
skin; then take an iron torch (that is, a
very flat kind of stew-pan used in China
over a charcoal fire); boil therein water;
put in the root, and let it lie three or
four minutes, but not so long as to injure
or break off the skin, when, on cutting
the root, the inside will appear of a
light straw colour: then take a clean
linen cloth, and, having wiped the gin-
seng clean and dry, place the torch over
the gentlest fire, and lay in it a row of

ginseng. Here let it dry gradually, turning it leisurely till it is something elastic, but not too dry; afterwards take a damp clean cloth, in which roll up the longest pieces in parallel lines, and wrap them up very tight, binding them very hard round with thread. After being dried a day or two, by a very slow fire, unpack the same and repeat the package of the inside and moist part, until it is all like the outside, and the whole dry enough to sound like a piece of wood when dropped upon a table. The heaviest pieces of a straw, or light brown colour, are much the best.

It will be noticed that this is not the same process recommended by Peter Kalm of drying naturally rather than by artificial heat. On the same page, however, the *American Museum* presents an "Account how ginseng is cured in Tartary."

Such as go in search of this plant, take nothing but the root, and bury in one place as many of these as they find, during ten days or a fortnight. They wash the root very carefully, and cleanse it, by rubbing off with a brush every thing extraneous. They afterwards dip it, for a moment, into water almost boiling, and dry it with the smoke of a kind of yellow millet, which tinges the plant a little with its colour. The millet being put into a vessel with a little water, is boiled over a slow fire, and the roots being laid on little pieces of wood, put cross-wise over the vessel, dry by degrees, under a piece of linen, or under another vessel which covers them. They also may be dried in the sun, or even by the fire: but though they then preserve their virtue, they do not keep their colour, in which the Chinese delight very much. When the roots are very dry, they are laid up in a very dry place, otherwise they would be in danger of rotting, or of falling a prey to the worms.

The first shipment of American ginseng to China was not an unqualified

success for the exporters. A correspondent in the *American Museum*, taking note of this unfortunate situation in December 1787 [11, 576-77], offered advice for future shipments.

Complaints have lately prevailed of ginseng arriving at the East Indies in a ruined state. This evil, if not remedied, may injure America in this important article of remittance. Should the matter be neglected, and the article continue to be badly cured, it will meet the condemnation of the Chinese mandarins.

The merchants in many instances advertise, that they want to purchase ginseng, but it must have a yellow colour. This is a mistake; as it may look yellow, and yet be very poor.

The question is, when and how it should be collected?

It ought to be collected in the driest days of October, and should have no connexion with the heat of the sun or fire, or be washed.

Ginseng is an aromatic; and its virtues are easily evaporated, after it comes out of the ground, if improperly used. I have seen the Indians laugh at the folly of the white people when they have seen them in the brooks, washing their ginseng. The reason why they wash it, is to make it look of a yellow colour, but the virtues of the root so strongly impregnate the water that it may be tasted many rods distant. After washing the root, people generally expose it to the sun or fire, which scalds the skin, and when it feels dry, it is packed up; but the watry particles left within, will soon occasion it to sweat, mould and spoil.

The root, immediately after it comes out of the ground, should be spread on boards, under a shelter where the wind can blow freely, and when dry the dust can be brushed off. When one barrel is put up so, it will fetch more than fifty barrels cured the other way.

This is the most authentic and accurate description of processing ginseng published in the American press.

The *American Museum* reported in January 1790 [p. 51] that exports of ginseng from the port of New York alone amounted to 410 hogsheads or 65,600 pounds with a value of 13,120 pounds sterling. The same periodical published two months later anonymous "Remarks on the commerce of America with China." These remarks were in slightly revised language those of Supercargo Samuel Shaw taken either from a manuscript version of his journal or from a report he wrote, January 1787, to the American Secretary of State, John Jay, incorporating verbatim passages from it. In his journal, he argues that the rest of the world had greatly underestimated the Chinese demand for American ginseng. [126-7] Until the American flag appeared in China, he wrote, "it was generally supposed that forty or fifty peculs [one pecul is equivalent to 136 pounds] were equal to the annual consumption. Experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty peculs were carried there by the first American ship in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greater part of which must have been previously sent thither by citizens of the united states. In 1786, more than one thousand eight hundred peculs were sold there, one half of which was carried in American vessels." After predicting that there would always be a strong demand for the American product Shaw queried whether it would be beneficial to the United States to prohibit exports to China on any but American bottoms. He also wondered whether America should follow the European example of forming national companies for managing the trade to the East and of using for the purpose large ships, more expedient than small ones because of the large tax levied in China in

an identical amount of all ships regardless of size. He concluded that time would tell. "How far," he mused, "it may be proper for America to imitate their example, and regulate the exportation of ginseng, must ultimately be determined by her own experience."

The *American Museum*, also in January 1790, published a table concerning the amount of ginseng shipped to the Chinese market in the previous season. [p. 228] Out of 2000 peculs, 1290 were carried in American ships, 200 in an English company ship, and 510 in other English and foreign ships.

A lengthy description of ginseng in English appeared in the *New York Magazine, or Literary Repository* for February 1795 (VI, 84-85) in an account by a certain Mr. Brunel on trading in Canton, and his account was republished in full six months later in *The Rural Magazine or Vermont Repository*. This Brunel is a shadowy figure about whom almost nothing is known. Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* [p. 2175] cites as his work *Observations sur le commerce en general, et sur celui de la Chine en particulier*, 1791, but quotes Querard's *France litteraire* to the effect that Brunel's work could not be found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. I have discovered that the account in the *New York Magazine* is taken from Alexis M. Rochon's *A Voyage to Madagascar and the East Indies. . . . Translated from the French. . . . To which is added a Memoir on the China Trade (by M. Brunel)* published in London in 1792. My quotations are all taken from the *New York Magazine*.

An enormous tome entirely devoted to China published in Philadelphia in 1823 by Robert Waln, Jr., contains original remarks on ginseng and on almost everything else, as its sweeping title

implies: *China: Comprehending a view of the origin, antiquity, history, religion, morals, government, laws, population, literature, drama, festivals, games, women, beggars, manners, customs, &C. of that empire.* The author surmises that the popularity of the root was linked to the Taoist attempt to discover a drink of immortality and that ginseng was one of the principal ingredients of the various concoctions devised throughout Chinese

history to give immortal life to those who consumed it. His remarks were published in 1823, and by this time the importance of ginseng in the Chinese-American trade had greatly diminished. It is worth noting the historic significance of that "precious root" in Sino-American relations, however, as well as the attention accorded to it by Western writers throughout the eighteenth century.

Snowy Day near Xanadu: Feng Tzu-chen and His Songs

J.I. Crump

"In the year 1302 I was in Shang-ching with the Peking entertainer Yü-yüan Hsiu and her troupe, waiting out a snow-storm", writes Feng Tzu-chen 馮子振 in his introduction to the most remarkable group of compositions to be found in songs from Xanadu. (i.e. *chü* or Yuan dynasty song poetry) "These ladies," he goes on, "regretted that no one had ever done "continuations" to Po Wu-chiu's *Parrot Island Song* (Ying-wu ch'ü)." "The intelligentry we know," "they continued," "were constrained from composing continuations by the extraordinary demands of its prosody". . . The gentlemen then raised their cups and challenged me to compose matches for it, taking as my subject matter the scenery of Pien-wu, Shang-tu and T'ien-cheng."

Following this introduction come *forty-two* "continuations" to the song by Po Pen!

History is completely silent about this junket to what must have been the Khan's summer capital, but it was an old imperial prerogative to peremptorily summon entertainment troupes to perform at the palace — and, of course, middle rank officialdom was always on tap whenever the Son of Heaven called. It must have been rather late in the season for the emperor to have been in residence at

Shang-tu (Xanadu) as witness the snow-storm, but it appears he had summoned Feng Tzu-chen, a Peking entertainment troupe and assorted "gentlemen" (scholar/bureaucrats) to attend him. They were all making their way back to Peking, and had not got very far, when the snowstorm overtook them to become the occasion for Feng's *Forty-two Variations* and preface.

Since we seldom are given any information on circumstances surrounding the composition of Yuan dynasty songs, his short but delightfully edifying preface is of great interest, if only because of its singularity. Its implications will be examined shortly, but let me here recount something of the *forty-two* pieces this unusual poet (he referred to himself as "The Wierd Taoist" 怪怪道人) introduces with his preface.

When the gentlemen in Feng's party challenged him to match Po's song they used the term *ho* (和). A Chinese poet was frequently required to *ho* a drinking companion's piece, or he might, as a sign of respect, "match" some or all of an admired former poet's verse. In either case he would traditionally use the same verse form, compatible subject matter and phraseology, and the same rhyme *class* as the original. Feng's *forty-two* matching songs, however, use not the same rhyme

class as Po's pattern, the *Parrot Island Song*, but exactly the *same rhyming characters* (住, 父, 雨, 去, 處) Furthermore, if we are to believe Feng's preface (later we will examine why, perhaps, we should not), the implication cannot be avoided that in response to the challenge he proceeded to compose those forty-two "continuations" on the spot.

This *tour de force* in the hands of a lesser poet could have amounted to little more than forty-two clever anagrams, but in fact, the group contains a remarkable number of beautiful songs, and there is no reason why Feng should not have preened himself on them — whether he wrote them extempore or at his leisure afterwards.

Though it leaves the reader with a first impression that Feng did forthwith dash it off along with all forty-two songs, a moment's reflection makes it clear that the preface had to have been written after the fact — at some later time when he was recalling the event.

Now, I do not doubt that Feng did compose some pieces impromptu on the occasion of the snowstorm, nor do I question whether such an elegant and literary group — we are justified in imagining it to have been such — would journey equipped with inkstone, brush and paper, but I confess difficulty picturing such an aggregation, whose members must have been quite used to occupying center-stage themselves, sitting about waiting for the snow to stop or Feng to complete all of his forty-two songs. It also abuses common sense to imagine a dedicated scribbler like Feng writing a preface after the event and not adding more songs to those he wrote during the snowstorm, bringing the aggregation up to an impressive forty-two.

From the little we know of Feng Tzu-chen, we can judge him to have been an

eccentric literatus and a talented musician. As evidence for the former, this "Traveller from Atlantis" (瀛洲客) as he also called himself, is elsewhere characterized as one who "would frequently go to his desk and begin furiously to write. However much paper there happened to be, he would fill it all up in a trice. His subject matter was always as rich as strong wines and his style was like a crowded brocade."

Or again, "Feng was known to the age for his wide learning and lofty style. When he was somewhat with drink taken, his heroic spirit would soar... and in a single effort he would compose pieces of not less than a thousand and often as many as ten-thousand words — in truth, a paragon of the times". His contemporary, the talented Ouigur, Kuan Yün-shih called Feng's style "pungent and luminous".

The only evidence we need for his musicality is that he undoubtedly did compose a number of songs on the spot for the most demanding and knowledgeable audience imaginable — a troupe of professional singers from the capital. He writes in his preface that they warned him "The rhyme in the second line embarrasses the whole composition, and the first and sixth syllables of the last line have to be falling and low-rising tones respectively to have the prosody come out right. Furthermore, if the composition is not done thus, it will be impossible to sing". Despite these admonitions, he was confident enough to dash off songs which, we must suppose, satisfied his peers poetically and the ladies musically.

Feng Tzu-chen held a mid-level post in the government and it could be expected that someone in his position with his proclivities would have left more songs for posterity. However, as is so often the case, accident decreed otherwise. It appears that the somewhat extravagant

conditions under which the Forty-two Variations were said to have been composed served to make them attractive for later anthologies in which they were ultimately preserved. All save two other short songs by Feng have vanished.¹

However, let us now consider the words Feng puts into the mouths of the ladies. He has them remark that no one they knew could do a satisfactory continuation to Po Pen's song. He spells out for us (through their lips) the musical and metrical difficulties, and then proceeds to wow the brilliant gentlemen and elegant ladies of the gathering (not to mention future readers) with forth-two examples! Feng would not have been the first writer to modestly report the words of third parties in such a fashion that the best light was cast on something he himself had done. We must be intrigued to discover, therefore, that despite what Feng has his ladies contend, Wang Yun (1227-1304), Lu Chih (*chin-shih* 1268), and Liu Ming-chung (1243-1318) — all of whom were senior to Feng — not only wrote "continuations" but composed them (as Feng had) using the same rhyming characters as the original. Now, we could become Feng partisans and maintain the ladies might not have *known* these men — though they were the most famous song writers of their era; or the ladies felt the continuations by them were not satisfactory — which would be unprovable, but a simpler explanation occurs to me: Some time after he had been on that high-fashion junket, Feng writes a preamble to his songs which leaves out a few facts, leaves in a few implications, and makes an altogether better story out of the incident. What's wrong with that?

The snowy journey also served to add luster to Po Pen's name as a composer of *ch'u*: apart from the one song, Po was far

better known as a painter and writer of *shih* poetry. In CYSC (p.447) the editor remarks that "Po's *Parrot Island Song* was extremely famous since later there were numerous continuations (*ho*) made for it". From our modern perspective — unable as we are to guess at six-hundred-year-old nuances of taste, his composition does not seem exceptional, but it is worth reproducing here simply to let the reader see what we're talking about:

儂家鸚鵡洲邊住。
是箇不識字漁父。
浪花中一葉扁舟。
睡煞江南烟雨。
〔么〕覺來時滿眼青山。
抖擻綠蓑歸去。
算從前錯怨天公。
甚也有安排我處。

Po Pen 白賁
(Hei-ch'i Nu)
Parrot Island Song"

I dwell on Parrot Island where I can
Be an unlettered fisherman.
I can float
Safe among the flowering whitecaps
In my shallow boat,
And soundly sleep
Through Chiang-nan's smoking rain.
(reprise)

Then, when I awake again
Green hills fill my eye.
I shake my cape of rushes dry
And sail back home.
I used to curse Old Heaven —
It was he
Who put me where I am.
Now I see
Heaven *made* this special place for me.

Personally, I prefer some of Feng's "matches" to the original, but if imitation is to be the test of reputation, Feng's contributions to Po's fame must outweigh all others. However, what of those matching songs written earlier than Feng's? Wang Yun's piece, "Visiting Chin-shan Temple" (96.2), for example, is the earliest (Hei-ch'i Nu) composition to indicate inspiration from *Parrot Island Song*. Its preface says, in part,"...

(Hei-ch'i Nu) was being used as the toasting song when Secretary Chung-hsien said to me, 'The verses are pleasant enough, but the name of the song matrix (Hei-ch'i Nu) [Black-lacquered Crossbow] appears to me to lack elegance. Don't you think we should refer to it as *Chiang-nan's Smoking Rain*?'"

Since the Secretary's suggested title for the matrix consists of the last four characters in a line from *Parrot Island Song*, there can be no doubt that Po's composition was much on their minds even though they may not actually have been trying to "match" it.

It is also interesting to note that the matching in this complex of compositions is not limited to Po's song: Chang K'o-chiu's (fl.1317) first "match" claims in its title to be "Using Feng's Rhymes". Exactly what chang means by this is hardly clear since *all* of the rhyming characters in *his* version of the (Hei-ch'i Nu) differ from those in Feng's forty-two continuations! Chang's second "match" is entitled "Parting from Friends at High-sands, Using *Parrot Island* Rhymes", and in the latter song he uses all of Po's (and of course, Feng's) rhyming characters save the last where *ch'u* (出) 'to come out' is used instead of *ch'u* (處) 'place'. It is not entirely apparent, therefore, what Chang's second title meant either, but one implica-

tion is unmistakable from both these songs; Chang K'o-chiu, the most prolific composer of a generation older than Feng Tzu-chen, knows both the original and Feng's by then famous "matches" for it.

To complete this group of "continuations" there are two songs (CYSC 1154.1, 2) by Lü Chi-min (about whom we know nothing at all) titled "Sent to a Friend"; below the title in smaller type are the words "using his rhymes" (用其韻). Lü's rhyming characters are identical with the original *Parrot Island* (as are Feng's, of course) so there is no way to be certain whether the word "friend" refers to Po or Feng — though I believe it to have been the latter.

The reader may object that earlier on I displayed unwonted skepticism about Feng's version of what transpired that snowy day near Xanadu when he entertained traveling companions with his compositions. I have not meant to be unfair, I simply recognize in Feng a personality more interested in a good story than the literal truth. As one other indication of Feng's propensity to broad interpretations, let me offer the following:

You will remember that his gentlemen friends limited the allowable subject-matter for Feng's 和 to "the scenery of Pien-su, Shang-tu and T'ien-ching". (汴吳,上都,&天京) Now, granting a poet can always be expected to approach any subject with his own angle of vision, it still strikes me that in the songs listed below (and in a number of others) Feng shows more than a little indifference toward the suggested restrictions:

- 17. Traveller Fishing in Lake Tung-t'ing
- 27. Remembering Westlake
- 37. Early Summer on the Ch'ien-t'ang

All of these locations are far, far to the south of the areas delimited by the "gentlemen".

2. Brief Dream of Glory
9. On Quitting the Capital
23. The Lan-t'ing Handscroll
24. Portrait of P'ang the Hermit
30. Handscroll Showing Chu Mai-ch'en Bearing Faggots
- 39-42 On a Screen Depicting the *Four Hoary-Heads* (四皓)

None of this second group is concerned — except in the most tangential fashion — with scenery of any kind.

Since the true enterprise for any poet is good poetry, no matter what formal structures he may choose to adopt or ignore, I am certain the fair-minded reader will agree that the least important qualification for any composer would be his ability or willingness to observe the rules of some inconsequential literary diversion. I hope the selections below, translated from Feng's Forty-Two Variations, will convince this same reader that wherever, whenever and under whatever rules Feng wrote them, they are good poetry — "pungent and luminous", as Kuan Yun-shih put it.

The first four variations chosen employ the kind of landscape-artists' technique which takes for granted the viewer's involvement in the scenery and challenges him to focus on the human figure in the composition that gives proportion to the totality of the painting. In each successive song, concentration on the human figure(s) grows, until by the fourth, what little scenery remains is all confined within Hunchback's fenced garden.

年年牛背扶犁住。
近日最懊惱殺農父。
稻苗肥恰待抽花。
渴煞青天雷雨。
〔么〕恨殘霞不近人情。
截斷玉虹南去。
望人間三尺甘霖。
看一片閑雲起處。

"A Peasant Thirsts for Rain"
[Variation #4]

Year in, year out
Behind the ox the farmer grips his
plough;
Yet the last few days have brought
about
A troubled, furrowed brow.
(Rice shoots now are grown so stout
They fairly thrust their blossoms out.)
Oh, how they thirst, farmer and grain,
For darkling sky, for thunder and rain.
(reprise)

He curses colored wisps in the evening
sky —
They'll never satisfy
His human wish —
He hates the half formed arcs-of-jade
That southward fade —
Nor can that single, idle cloud sustain
His hopes for sweet and drenching rain.
342.1

孤村三兩人家住。
終日對野叟田父。
說今朝綠水平橋。
昨日溪南新雨。
〔么〕碧天邊雲歸巖穴。
白鷺一行飛去。
便芒鞋竹杖行春。
問底是青帘舞處。

"Clearing Skies at Wildford"
[Variation #7]

Lonely village:
Two, three families live this way.
I talk with a gleaner, a farmer late in
the day;
This morning water rose
High as the bridge's beam
From yesterday's downpour, south of
their stream.

(reprise)

Now, slipping into gorges that notch
the ridge,
Clouds just rim blue sky.
White-egrets in a line wing by.
Grass sandals, bamboo staff,
Striding into Spring I go!
Where does the wineshop curtain blow?
342.4

沙鷗灘鷺灘依住。
鎮日坐釣叟綸父。
趁斜陽曬網收竿。
又是南風催雨。
〔么〕綠楊隄忘繫孤樁。
白浪打將船去。
想明朝月落潮平。
在掩映蘆花淺處。

"The Fishermen"
[Variation #8]

Like fledgeling egrets, in their bristling
coats,
Hunched, motionless they sit
Throughout the day by Sandgull Spit —
The ancient angler and the one who
reels the seine.
The sun sinks, they dry their nets
And stow their poles of cane,
As a rising southwind drives before
it rain.

(reprise)

Abandoned on Willowdyke, far abaft
Stands their solitary mooring stake.
As whitecaps rise and slap their craft,
Already they think on tomorrow's dawn
When the tide is slack and the moon is
gone,
Plotting the course they plan to steer
To a shoal where reed-flowers now sink,
now reappear.

343.1

柴門雞犬山前住。
笑語聽偃背園父。
轆轤邊抱甕澆畦。
點點陽春膏雨。
〔么〕菜花間蝶也飛來。
又趁暖風雙去。
杏梢紅韭嫩泉香。
是老瓦盆邊飲處。

"Old Gardener"
[Variation #12]

He lives below the hill,
One hen and a hound for company.
From behind his wicker gate
The sound of laughter reaches me —
Old Humpback the gardener is tending
his plot.
Standing by the windlass
He sprinkles from an earthen pot
Water as rich as unguent rain.

(reprise)

From plant to flower and back again
Flicker the butterflies.
Or, catching an eddy of warming air
They soar aloft, pair after pair.
On his apricots the red buds swell,
All his leeks grow succulent.
From his well
Comes water with a spicy scent;
And there, from a jug of rude design
He sips this wine.

344.2

The last three variations below do not have much in common among them save a faint fragrance of "*sic transit gloria mundi*". However, taken in conjunction with the preceeding four, they do give a good picture of the latitude in subject matter Feng Tzu-chen allowed himself while supposedly limited to the general heading of "scenery around Shang-tu".

山林朝市都曾住。
忠孝兩字報君父。
利名場反覆如雲。
又要商量陰雨。
〔么〕便天公有眼難開。
袖手不如家去。
更蛾眉強學時粧。
是老子平生懶處。

"On Quitting the Capital"
[Variation #9]

I've dwelt in court and countryside;
Both king and father satisfied
By faith and filiality.
But, fickle as shifting clouds
Are the worlds of fame and gain —
Where one is always on the watch for
sudden rain.

(reprise)

Heaven may have eyes, though I doubt
that they can see,
So, better far to go back home
Than serve here helplessly,
Since I was always loath to try —
For the sake of patronage —
To paint already well-shaped brows
To conform to some new rage.

343.2

朱門空宅無人住。
村院快活煞耕父。
霎時間富貴虛花。
落葉西風殘雨。

〔么〕總不如水北相逢。
一棹木蘭舟去。
待霜前雪後梅開。
傍幾曲寒潭淺處。

"Short Dream of Splendor"
[Variation #2]

Vermillion gates — their noble mansions
empty now.
Rustic halls — happy with men who
guide a plow.
Wealth and fame — barren blossoms of a
moment,
Or leaves that fall when westwinds blow
And bring their ragged rain.

(reprise)

Oh, would we were north of the river
again!
In our little orchid boat we'd go
To await a cold-plum's blossoming —
Before the frost but after snow —
Then singing, down the stream we'd
pole

Over icy deep and shallow shoal.

341.2

黃金難買朱顏住。
駟馬客羨跨牛父。
石將軍百斛明珠。
幾日歡雲娛雨。
〔么〕趁春歸一瞬流鶯。
萬事夕陽西去。
舊嬋娟落在誰家。
箇裏是高人省處。

"Sentiments"
[Variation #27]

Gold coins cannot restore
The bloom of youth:
The wealthy traveler in his coach-and-
four
Doth often find
Much to envy in the uncouth hind
Slouching on his ox.
General Shih² used all his treasure —

Gems to fill a bushel measure —
 To secure
 His lovely paramour;
 But how long did they play the game
 Of clouds and rain?

(reprise)

When the season comes again

Sieze all of spring;
 Too soon the oriole has taken wing,
 Too soon all good things are done —
 Vanished like the setting sun.
 Where lies the general's beauty now?
 The wise man knows all things are one.

348.3

NOTES

- ¹ Anecdote has it that he once wrote a verse, to the matrix (Che-ku T'ien) dedicated to the famous entertainer Chu Lien-hsiu. It is no longer extant.
- ² Shih Ch'ung (石崇) spent a fortune in jewels for his beautiful concubine, Green Pearl. His enemy saw and coveted her. He captured the general and Green Pearl leaped from her pavilion to kill herself.

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The Monkey Image: A Reflection of Japanese History and Culture

Victor W. Chen

In the history of Asian and Southeast Asian cultures, the monkey holds both a sacred and a pedestrian role. He can act as an agent of the gods and guide the sacred Buddhist tomes from India to China. At the same time, he can act in a mischievous and arrogant fashion that amplifies human foibles. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney has produced an extensive study of the image of the monkey in her work (*The Monkey as Mirror: Symbolic Transformations in Japanese History and Ritual*. (Princeton University Press, 1987)

The image of the monkey began in early Japanese history as a mediator between humans and the gods. In time, this image shifts from that of sacred mediator to that of scapegoat who shoulders the ills of society. More recently, the monkey has come to take on the role of the clown that makes fun of social attitudes and behaviors. In her study of the transformation of the monkey image, Ms. Ohnuki-Tierney shows a parallel development with the "special status people," those discriminated for a variety of reasons from the mainstream of society. Using such anthropological devices, it is possible to understand certain relationships between historical events and social myths and rituals. As society transforms, so does the people's consciousness of the functions of rituals and myths. Further-

more, the events of history are both dynamic and unique, while those of myth and ritual contain social dynamism and interactions, which can freeze these relationships in time. As a methodological approach for either history or anthropology, this clearly bridges the best of both worlds.

Ms. Ohnuki-Tierney covers her material in three sections. The first and third sections serve as introduction and conclusions and contain the theoretical and methodological arguments for the work. We are given the general rubric that investigations of a culture forces "us to confront the multiple voices in every culture." While the strongest voices in a culture tend to be associated with those in political power; those who are traditionally discriminated from the mainstream of society will find few opportunities to voice their vision of the universe. With an investigation of images such as the monkey, and through a historical transformation of those images, it may be possible to correlate the outsider with the visualizations of the scapegoat, the trickster and the clown. In a closed and homogeneous society such as that of Japan, it would be difficult to find literary evidence representing the attitudes, behaviors and social organizations of minority groups. A similar lack of literary documentation is

present in other cultures as well, such as among the ethnic minorities in Asian societies. A classical case involve the study of slavery in the United States, where the mainstream white sources and references provide a distorted view of the experiences of slaves. Subsequent investigation into black folk songs, the oral tradition in folktales, and religious myths have uncovered a wealth of information on slavery in the antebellum South.

The main body of *the Monkey as Mirror* is made up of two distinct narratives. The first area provides a historical review of the transformation of the monkey image from that of mediator between humans and gods, serving as healer and protector of horses, to becoming a trickster and scapegoat. In contemporary Japan, the monkey and its trainer serve the role of clowns and represents the most recent transformation. The second area of investigation focuses on the special status people. These people were involved in the processes of death, burial and ritual purification. Ms. Ohnuki-Tierney provides a link between the images of the monkey and the special status people by showing a parallel historical development.

The image of the monkey enters Japanese mythical history by 712 C. E. (Common Era used in preference to A.D.) as one of the minor deities. Its function was to mediate between the Mountain Deity and people. Other sources point to the ability of the monkey to maintain the health of horses and from the extension of this role towards providing healing powers to human beings. A third role of the monkey can be found in that of the trickster that renders both good and evil. Around the time of the appearance of early monkey images, the Taika Reforms of 645 C. E. formally recognized the special status people. Many of these

artistic and religious outsiders were involved in purification rites such as the shamans who tended the corpses of emperors. Although an involvement in death and the dead identified special status people, this was by no means their exclusive sphere. Landscape architects, carpenters, entertainers and arms manufactures were also included in this group.

Over the next thousand years, both the role of the monkey and the special status people would be transformed. The role of the monkey would incorporate a number of its earlier functions and become a performer. For example the monkey takes on a new role of blessing the rice harvest by performing in the doorway of the farmer's house. The association between monkey and the health of the horses also continued, but was transformed into a ritualistic dance or act. The stage of the transformation towards a performing clown is easy to imagine. Similarly, the special status people also began a series of transformations. The function of these people as mediators between the "pure and impure," between secular life and religious ritual and between serving as moral and social inferiors also began to change. For example by 1710, kabuki actors were no longer considered outsiders, yet street performers remained one of the special status people.

In the final section of her book, Ms. Ohnuki-Tierney describes monkey performances, both from the historical perspective as well as from lengthy contemporary descriptions. The monkey as clown and the trainer as special status outsider provide a performance that not only entertains, but also mediates between society and its reflection. The performance can make fun of a sacrosanct social institution such as the Japanese army

during the Second World War. A pair of outsiders, the monkey and his trainer, can mirror society through its strength and weakness, and thereby provide a highly stratified society with a safety valve or a meditation towards social health.

Ms. Ohnuki-Tierney has written an imaginative and significant anthropological analysis that brings together a vast number of elements. Images of animal species are given status similar to discrimi-

nated groups who are seen in images that assign political power, status and economic control. It is also here that her study becomes problematic. She covers a vast amount of historical territory and uses a mixture of sources that include social and political records along with myths and stories. While this particular mixture seems to blend well in this study, it is by no means clear whether such a diversity of materials would also work in other contexts.

An Anthology of Some Poems by Asian Women in English Translation

Graeme Wilson

Yes

The whole night long she cannot sleep,
So bright the moon's persistent glare.
To who knows what imagined question,
"Yes" she answers to the empty air.

Chinese: Tzu Yeh (fl.c.375)

Sun-thing

I am as steady as the Northern Star,
Year in, year out, dependably in place:
But you, day-fickle sun-thing that you are,
Turn east, turn west, your hourly changing face.

Chinese: Anonymous (4th century)

Assigation

Here, at the ford which budding willows,
Overhang and half-surround,
I, that should be drawing water,
Hang around and hang around.

Look, my heel-prints of impatience
Half-mooned on the patient ground.

Japanese: Anonymous (5th or 6th century)



Understandings

You said "I'll come", but did not:
 So now, because you said
 "I will not come", I think you will.

Or have I still mis-read
 The alternations of your heart,
 Your flibbertigibetty head?

Japanese: Lady Otomo no Sakanoue (699—c. 781)

Rumour

Some village-woman told me
 Her husband had seen mine
 Riding, haggard, on a jet-black horse
 Under the scarlet shine
 Of autumn leaves on Kamunabi.

She said he saw him ride
 Through falling leaves to vanish where
 The seven streams divide.

I had not asked that woman
 For news of any sort:
 Why should she set my heart on edge
 With such a strange report?

Japanese: Anonymous (8th century)

Harvest of the Heart

Seven big-wheeled wagons
 Were not enough to cart
 These shining sheaves of love-thoughts,
 This harvest of my heart:
 Seven wagons big enough
 Never could be found
 To take the weight of happiness
 My heart can carry round.

Japanese: Princess Hirokawa (written c. 750)

Knowing Oneself

As for your soul, it interests me
No more than some blue star
Known to be there but otherwise
Too far, too far

All that I want in this actual world
Is the actual man you are.

Japanese: Lady Suri (early 10th century)

Who's There?

If, when persons call at the house,
I tell my girls to reply
"The lady, sir, is not at home",
Don't think it just a lie:
For the truth is I no longer know
Who's there when I say I.

Japanese: Sei Shonagon (c.966-1024)

Cremation

Unbearable, this nothingness
That the man you were
Should become no more than smoke thinned out
Into thin, thin air
When even the least cicada-shell
Is at least still there.

Japanese: Lady Izumi Shikibu (973-c.1033)

Mid October

The mind of a person waking
To a mid-October day
Is distanced from itself.
Expectably,
Some would say,
That being the month when the sky is always
At its farthest away.

Japanese: Fujiwara no Kishi (1000-

Egret

Though some, perhaps, did down a cup too many,
 I remember that day as, truly, a happy day
 And then, on the drift down-river in the evening,
 Somehow or other someone lost the way
 And we found ourselves stuck fast in a float of lotus
 Whence, as we worked to drive the boat's nose through,
 Startled, a single egret rose before us
 White on the sky's dark pink and darkening blue.

Chinese: Li Ching-chao (1081-c.1149)

Hopeless Love

Lately, of my wretchedness
 I can no longer say
 That it is wretched. What is wretched?
 And words, what they
 When one's understanding of one's own perceptions
 Has been writhen away?

Japanese: Lady Jusamni Chikako (fl.c.1300)

Crazy Crazy Crazy Love

Alas, it was my doing:
 But how was I to know
 That, if he took me at my word,
 My words would hurt me so?

He never would have gone
 Had I but told him stay:
 Crazy it is that I should yearn
 For what I sent away.

Crazy, crazy, crazy love!
 I cannot comprehend
 Love that has only grown because
 I brought it to an end.

Korean: Hwang Chi-ni (1506-1544)

Doll

When in the water from the well
Clearly my reflection swam,
I, that should not say it, said it:
Golly, what a doll I am.

Japanese: Anonymous (late 16th century)

Seamstress

Till her fingers cramp, till the cold half-cripples her,
She scissors cloth to the shapes of wedding dress.
Year after year she scissors, year upon year,
Content, she snaps, with her room's cold emptiness.

Korean: Ho Nan-sorhon (1563-1589)

A Letter Home

I trim my lamp. Through blinding tears
I brush this scuffled note.

Sealed fast and sent a thousand miles,
Each character I wrote
Pleads that, from its wretchedness,
You set my body free.

How much, dear mother, is there left
Of the bride-price paid for me?

Chinese: Shao Fei-fei (17th century)

Buddhist Priest

Neither a Chinese nor a Vietnamese
But something else of an outlandish kind,
Bald and in stitchless robes, he contemplates
Long rows of ricecake-offerings. His behind
Beams, as he squats, on some half-dozen nuns
Who, in the background, occupy his mind.

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Every so often, with enormous effort,
 He taps small bells, a timbrel, a flat gong.
 At other times he hums, makes chanting noises
 To save poor souls like us from going wrong.
 Pray hard, my lads! You, too, might rise to plant
 Proud buttocks on a lotus all day long.

Vietnamese: Ho Xuan Huong (late 18th century)

The General's Plaque

This much-praised general made such a cock of things
 That thousands of men were slughtered. All may view
 The temple-plaque in his honour. No-one sings
 Praise of the wives, each left with the work of two.

Vietnamese: Ho Xuan Huong (late 18th century)

Early Departure

The dawn-moon in her detriment
 Shines no less wan
 For the bright sound of the frost-bright bell
 That it shines upon

Through yellow leaves my horse's hooves
 Clump glumly on.

The sun comes up on an empty world,
 On a landscape bare
 Of all human touch, just the sounding of water
 From over there,
 There where the trees' grey mists begin
 To be thinned in the slow-warmed air.

Chinese: Sun Yun-feng (1764-1814)

The Lonely Pass

The sun was setting as I struggled
 Up here to the Lonely Pass
 Where, for a grip between bare rock,
 Stunt trees and ragged grass
 Struggle with the same dry fierceness

As, between their dry
Leaves, the few small flowers strain
For a smidgin of the sky.

Listening to the nightjars call,
I think I understand
The sadness in all exiles,
That need for a native land
Which, all around me, francolins
Repeatedly insist
In voices tired with homelessness
Must, known or not, exist.

I stand here halted. Suddenly
These things at which I stare,
Sky and mountains, once so loved,
Are seen as solely there
As images on whose half-truths
I need no more rely.

My native land is loneliness,
My only need is I.

Vietnamese: Lady of Thanh Quan (c.1796-)

Tryst

He said he's come at moonrise. Not a trace,
Although the moon's now half-way up the skies.
Perhaps he lives in some deep mountain-place
Where it takes longer for the moon to rise.

Korean: Nungun (19th century)

Late Swallow

Among my curtains' rich embroideries
One swallow hid when spring, as it left, called go.
Do you want to live here with me? Please, please, yes please,
His endless cheepings beg: but I still say no.

Chinese: Wu Tsao (fl.c.100)

*Asian Culture Quarterly**Winter Twilight*

One leafless tree upon the dusk's blank page
 Extends the black shape of the letter Y.

As though to stem the sense of desolation
 Which from that shape flows clearly as a cry,
 Low in the dark, the Evening Star's full-stop
 Gold-punctuates the sky.

Against that utter stillness, nervously,
 Like specks of platinum ground sharply fine
 Thin powder-snow falls slowly to set prickles
 Upon the trembling of the telegraph-line.

Japanese: Yosano Akiko (1878-1942)

Hilltop Slum

City water, short of breath,
 Cannot climb this high.
 Even the postman just can't make it:
 That's the reason why
 I've stopped writing letters.
 Nobody writes back,
 But every day there's sunshine
 Delivered to my shack.

The garden is the roadway,
 The roadway does for shops.
 Our hilltop slum's a playground,
 The shouting never stops
 But, morning after morning
 As sleep succumbs to din,
 A quiet glow of sunshine
 Drops intimately in.

Korean: O Sin-hye (1913-

Fire Egg

In the bitter cold of winter
 When upon your table
 I placed a single rose,
 It proved to be a fire-egg.

Alas, I am not able
To hold that fire-egg close
Because it grows so angry:
Yet, when I let it be,
It bruns the table,
 bruns the table,
 burns the table silently.

When I looked into the mirror
My kerchief and my lipstick
All began to burn;
So I ran out from that burning house,
Pell-mell, taking nothing else,
Nothing but this spoon in hand,
Never to return.

Japanese: Shiraishi Kazuko (1931-

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Film in East Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

John A. Lent*

Between 1985 and 1988, the Korean film industry and the Motion Picture Exporters Association of America (MPEAA) locked horns over the issue of foreign film distribution in South Korea. The MPEAA, representing the largest eight United States producers and distributors, had reacted to the 35-year practice of bringing foreign pictures into Korea through a multi-tiered system of middlemen. The U. S. film association wrote the U. S. Senate Finance Committee of its intention to file an unfair trade practice complaint against Korean filmmakers.

The complaint was dropped after negotiations with the Korean ambassador in Washington; six months of further talks in 1987 gave the U.S. major film companies permission to open offices in Korea, distribute films themselves, and collect the rentals. Direct distribution of this type bypassed the Korean middlemen as U.S. distributors dealt directly with exhibitors, with whom box-office receipts were split. Immediately, the Americans

invaded in full force which meant eventual doom for the Korean movie industry.

The reaction of the Korean Performance Ethics Committee was to rule that it would not permit any company to have more than one film on its censorship list at the same time. Realizing that because approval of films by the committee took two to three months, in effect, a quota of four to six film imports was being implemented, the MPEAA filed an unfair trade complaint in September 1988.

Over the next month, Korean filmmakers united to persuade exhibitors not to show U.S. movies. They boycotted *Fatal Attraction*, the first film distributed directly by United International Pictures (distributors of Paramount, Universal, and MGM/UA movies), closed for a day 30 Seoul theaters, and threatened to release baskets of snakes in theaters at screening time and to expose the corrupt business practices and marital infidelity of one Korean distributor planning to show an American movie.

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This article was abstracted from his 1990 book, *The Asian Film Industry*, published by Christopher Helm in London and University of Texas Press in Austin, Texas.

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The protests subsided in November when agreement was reached, with the MPEAA withdrawing its unfair trade complaint and the Koreans agreeing to allow U.S. film companies "unencumbered access" to their market.

This episode is important because it epitomizes one of the dilemmas East Asian film industries encounter regularly — dwindling home markets because of the onslaught of imported film, whether brought in legally through distributors or in pirated videocassettes.

There are other common problems as well — the high degree of commercialism, the heavy influences from the West, the dominating power of the distributor, and the plight of the film artist in regard to audience acceptance.

Historical Overview

East Asia was viewing film early on. The Japanese saw their first Kinetoscope in 1896. Unlike in many countries, such viewings were considered respectable events, for in 1897, the Crown Prince attended a Vitascope showing. By 1903, a permanent theater was devoted strictly to film (Richie 1971:3). Film had reached China also in 1896, shown at a teahouse variety show in Shang-hai (Clark 1987:6). In October 1898, a 100-foot filmstrip was shown in a Korean barn to advertise products of the Anglo-American Tobacco Company. Admission required ten empty cigarette boxes or a piece of nickel.

It was not long after that some of the first Asian movies were made. The Japanese used some of their most famous stage actors in locally-produced films as early as 1904. Unique to Japanese film were female impersonators and the *benshi*, a narrator-commentator-explainer

(Richie 1971:5-6). In China, the Fengtai photostudio in Beijing recorded a "local equivalent of the exotica of the foreign newsreels — scenes from Beijing Opera performed by some of the most famous actors of the day" (Clark 1987:7).

An American theater owner in Hong Kong, Benjamin Polaski, produced *To Steal a Roasted Duck* in 1909; four years later, his acquaintance, Li Min Wei, joined him in forming the Sino-American Film Company. Korea, which had its first movie house in 1906, made *The Righteous Revenge* as a kino-drama in 1919. It consisted of 1,000 feet of location scenes not possible on the regular stage shown between theatrical scenes to join parts of the play. Kino-dramas paved the way for the first full-length feature, *The Plighted Love under the Moon*.

By the 1920s-1930s, film was well established in most of the region, with a number of production houses cranking out large numbers of features. In Korea, 80 films per year were made between 1926 and 1931, a period that saw the establishment of the first film corporation, Choson Kinema, and the development of important producers such as Lee Pil-u, Yun Baek-nam, Lee Kyong-son, and Na Ungyu. Similarly, Chinese filmmakers became very active during 1925-31; a few Shanghai studios set up offices and production facilities in Hong Kong which soon became the center for Cantonese films. Between 1932-36, more than 100 films were produced in Hong Kong by about 50 companies. In China, about 164 production companies were established between 1921 and mid-1930, mostly in Shanghai. Only 53 of them made any films during the decade, most of which were "undercapitalized and overambitious" (Clark 1987:7).

The types of productions and working

conditions in the 1920s and 1930s were described by veteran Korean Producer-Actor Yoon Bong-choon:

The production was almost as sloppy and non-professional as Korea's first commercial movie, where the camaraman's only experience had been as theater projectionist and the director's last job had been drummer in the band marching around Seoul advertising the movie (Yoon n.d.:39).

Yoon said that actors in the silent era worked for practically nothing. When filming was completed, the producer gave each actor the amount of rice he thought the performance deserved. One bag of rice meant the performance was considered good. Obviously, there were other reasons for acting:

... to be treated like royalty, to ride to film openings in fine rickshaws, to be entertained after the show with the most beautiful *kiesang* girls [entertainers] in Korea (Yoon n.d.: 39).

Japan's militaristic designs of the 1930s and 1940s had different impacts upon East Asian film industries. In Japan itself, directors continued to use realism, some as a tool for propaganda. But, as Richie (1971:54) said, Japanese film style did not blend well with propaganda. Although there were many propaganda films, there were war films also, "composed of the little things of which soldiers' lives are made" (Richie 1971:55). As the war continued, directors, pressured to conform to militaristic patterns, strategically retreated to historical themes.

In Korea, the occupation forces used stringent censorship and cut production to two or three films yearly. Korean producers were still able to infuse into their work, subtle themes of resistance to

the Japanese, thus counteracting the 25 pro-Japanese propaganda films released in the early 1940s. Between 1940 and 1945, the Japanese closed ten production houses and all distribution agencies in Korea.

As China and Japan engaged in full-scale war in 1937, the state of Chinese film became precarious. In Shanghai, filmmaking continued in "fits and starts" from 1937-41 (Clark 1987:15). Driven out of Shanghai by the Japanese, film artists moved into more typical parts of China, often using their film to resist the enemy. Many made up a wave of film refugees to Hong Kong. More Mandarin and more political, they saw film as a way to fight the Japanese. Their zeal and productivity were evident in that, between 1933 and 1941, the annual number of films produced in Hong Kong increased to 44. When Hong Kong was occupied, some production continued; however, the South China Cooperative Society controlled, amalgamated, and reorganized film personnel and facilities for the Japanese cause. Forty registered companies were allowed to operate under strict censorship regulations set down in 1942. In Taiwan, the occupying Japanese set up Taiwan Motion Picture Association and Taipei News Picture Association, merged in 1945 to form Taiwan Film Studio.

During the post-war era, filmmaking was revived on an expanded and independent scale in most of East Asia. By the 1950s, the Japanese movies enjoyed a modicum of business prosperity and international attention. The number of theaters was restored to the pre-war figure of 2,641 (by 1959, the number tripled to 7,401); the industry was increasingly concentrated into four companies — Toho, Shin-Toho, Daiei, and Shochiku. Toei joined this dominating group in

1951, and Nikkatsu, when it was reopened in 1953.

Both R.O.C. and Hong Kong benefited as filmmakers left mainland China in the late 1940s. In Taiwan, especially after 1949, entire movie organizations, such as China Movie Studio, arrived from the mainland. As another wave of film refugees entered Hong Kong in the late 1940s, a rival business environment was created with competition very keen and production costs up five to seven times over those of pre-war. The refugees had to contend with at least a dozen film companies that resumed in 1945.

Shaw Brothers, which had produced and exhibited films since the mid-1920s, was among the revitalized companies. At the end of the war, the Shaws dug up jewels they had hidden from the Japanese and re-established their Tien Yat (Tan Yee) Studio. One of the brothers, Run Run, described the treasure:

The pearls were a little brown, the watches rusty, the bank notes mildewed, but the gold was nice and yellow. The diamonds, sapphires and emeralds were in excellent form. We were still rich (Block 1974:161).

The 1950s and early 1960s were the golden years for almost all East Asian film industries. In 1960, Japan produced a record 547 films, and two years previously, film attendance peaked at 1.127 billion. Hong Kong also set records producing 311 features in 1956-57 and 303 in 1961-62. The Crown Colony's average yearly production of films in the 1950s and 1960s was 200.

Prominent Hong Kong producers, such as Joseph Sunn, Lee Tsu Yung, Chang Shin-kuan, Loke Wan Tho, Run Run Shaw, and Raymond Chow, set new standards as they built their film empires.

In post-World War II, Loke, needing films for the theaters he had set up in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore a decade earlier, went into production with his Keris (1951) and Cathay Film Production Company (1953). He also developed the International Film Distribution Company in 1951 to supply films for Cathay theaters throughout Southeast Asia and Hong Kong.

Run Run Shaw's company, which relocated to Hong Kong from Singapore in 1958, thus rejoining his brothers, was dominant in all aspects of film until 1986 when it dropped production. When he arrived in Hong Kong, Run Run drew up plans for new studios, established an acting school, imported technicians to instruct his crew, bought new equipment, and built theaters. He copied Hollywood's big studio and contract player systems. By 1961, the new studios were completed in what became known as Movie Town, a 46-acre spread that enclosed ten studios, sixteen permanent outdoor sets, three dubbing studios, film processing labs, and residences for staff. The self-contained unit kept 1,500 actors/actresses and 2,000 other staff under contract, maintained its own drama school of 120 students, and published periodicals that boosted the stars (Dadamiah 1972:13). Shaw studios worked around the clock in three 8-hour shifts, producing an average of 40 features yearly.

In the Republic of China, four government-owned studios dominated in the 1950s, producing films that concentrated largely on crimes of communism and the development of Taiwan. The most enduring studio was Central Motion Picture Corporation, established in 1954, R.O.C.'s golden years were 1956-61; the number of films climbed rapidly to 21 in

1956 and 110 the following year. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the star system and big studios dominated in Taiwan, as it had in other parts of the region.

Korea's most productive period was the 15 years immediately after the war that split the country. Filmmaking, benefiting from the government's lifting of taxes in 1957, grew from the 20 pictures of 1955 to 40 in 1957 and 100 yearly by the end of the decade. By 1961, the year the Asian Film Festival was in Seoul, Korea had a lively industry with 15 studios and 402 theaters. Most productions were low-grade, shoestring operations done by speculators wanting to make big profits on little investment in record time (Parrish n.d.:40).

In nearly every country, profound changes occurred in filmmaking after the mid-1960s, partly because of the quickened pace of television development. In Japan, the film audience had slumped to one-half of its peak size by 1963 and some studios either had to close, scale down (Daiei and Nikkatsu), or seek matching production grants from the Art Theater Guild, established in 1961. Some reversed the downswing by going to different genres — Nikkatsu to *roman porunc* (soft porn) and Toho to a revival of singing talent.

The heyday of the Taiwanese-dialect films was also shortlived, partly because of the augmented television audience, but also because of changing public tastes for language and content and a lack of quality scripts. In the 1960s, the Republic of China government took another active role in the film industry by emphasizing that movies had to be educational and cultural in a positive way, encouraging coproductions with Japan, and allowing Chinese film producers to share in

imported film distribution, the guideline being that the more Chinese films a company made, the more chance it had of importing foreign pictures. Other encouragements of the Government Information Office were the granting of loans to civilian Taiwan and Hong Kong companies, the setting up of annual meetings of motion picture personnel to help solve problems, and the awarding of the annual Golden Horse for meritorious quality (Tang 1975:72).

As the Japanese had done, some ROC producers in the 1960s gave a much needed boost of confidence to the ailing industry by changing genres. The introduction of ancient costume musicals broke box-office records; eight of the top ten grossing films in 1964 were in this genre. Later, between 1967 and the mid-1970's, swordsmen films poured out of some new studios at a blistering rate. For example, of the 609 color films done in Taiwan between 1972-74 (an average of 17½ per month), over one-half were built around fist or sword fighting. In 1967, Taiwan produced 190 films, followed by 198 in 1968, and 230 in 1969.

The Korean government also stepped in during the early 1960s to change the deteriorating quality of that country's films. The Motion Picture Law was promulgated in 1962 to raise film quality and promote the international exchange of movies. Through its amendments in 1963 and 1966, the law decreased the number of production companies from 65 to 17, provided grants to producers, limited imports by implementing quotas, and lowered the annual number of films needed to qualify as a registered producer from fifteen to two. The result was that in 1969, the number of features produced (229) and total film attendance (more than 173 million) established

records that remain. The commercial success of Korean film at the time was discussed by Ahn (1987, p. 93):

Where the films of the 1960s were stepping stones in the aesthetic development of Korean cinema, the films of the 1970s were marked by their commercial aspects Within [this] economic turmoil, the film established its own commercialism. Entertaining mass audiences became the priority of the film industry, and the "aesthetics of economy" was a catch phrase.

In the early 1970, the industry had slight turnarounds because of inroads made by television, audience apathy, excessive censorship, and technological and artistic backwardness. Further amendments were made to the Motion Picture Law in 1970 (developing the Motion Picture Promotion Union and requiring exporters and importers to be registered and to produce five films annually) and in 1973 (replacing the Union with the Motion Picture Promotion Corporation of Korea and emphasizing quality, rather than quantity, of films). Additionally, the latter amendment limited the number of production companies by consolidating inactive one, required that they have adequate facilities and US\$100,000 as a production fund, imposed more rigid censorship, and provided that the Ministry of Culture and Information set down annual directives on the number of films to be made and imported.

For whatever reasons, by 1980, the Korean film industry set new lows in number of features produced (91), number of theaters (447), and total attendance (54.5 million).

Raymond Chow, a former Shaw employee, shook up Hong Kong's film community in the 1970s with the mind-

boggling development of his Golden Harvest studio. He accomplished this largely on the strength of 3½ films starring a Hollywood bit actor named Bruce Lee. Between 1975-79, 60 "new wave" directors also got their start in Hong Kong, mostly on television. Later, they had an important impact on the entire business.

Production

The role of producer has taken on new meanings in some East Asian countries. In Japan, publishers and other huge entrepreneurs in trade and advertising worked closely with major studios, and 60 percent of the nearly 300 features produced every year (297, 298, 296 in 1986, 1987, and 1988, respectively) were made by independent production companies. The other 40 percent came from the old established studios of Shochiku, Toho, Toei, and Nikkatsu.

Kadokawa Publishing led the way for the entry of huge independents into the industry, followed by the Mitsui Trading Company, Tokyu Group (hotels, department stores, and private railroads), and Seibu Saison Group (a diversified investment group affiliated with Seibu/Seiyu conglomerate of department stores and railways). The studios, increasingly aware of themselves as partners with big business, put money into related markets — Toei, sightseeing, real estate, and tourism, and Shochiku, stage entertainment and shopping malls.

In Hong Kong as well, big investors challenged the long-standing strangleholds of Shaw Brothers and Cathay. The new producers were characterized as having large amounts of capital and being backed by important financial institutions which recognized the profit potential of

film. They observed that in 1985 alone, the industry had a HK\$1 billion turnover, at a time when the average film's production cost was HK\$4 to \$6 million.

Indeed, the complexion of Hong Kong film had changed. Between 1972-81, 50 percent of all film companies went out of business, often replaced by independents connected to conglomerates with minimum or no film experience. Among the latter was Dickson Poon, a multi-millionaire in the jewelry and boutique businesses. In 1984, the 28-year-old Poon, with no film experience, formed D and B Films with a personal investment of HK\$100 million. Within three years, his 33 productions annually made him one of the three largest producers in Hong Kong. No less an upstart was Deacon Chiu, owner of banks, HK-TV, a theater circuit, and hotels, who started Far East Motion Picture Development Ltd. in 1986 (Pomery 1985-29).

The other major film companies are big business based. Fotocine Film Productions Ltd. is part of Fotocine Holding Group, with interests in color printing and processing labs, an advertising agency, and a screen advertising division, while Century Films is a division of a diversified financing services group, Tetra Finance. Century's executives are mainly bankers and managers.

Hong Kong's two most profitable movie companies, Golden Harvest and Cinema City, are predominantly entertainment conglomerates. Golden Harvest, which in 1987 had six of the ten most profitable films from which it realized a US\$41 million income, is a patchwork of at least 35 companies worldwide. Founder Raymond Chow and his partner, Leonard Ho, own a large part of the companies. Golden Harvest is connected to Kowloon Developments, which has ties

with Cinema City and owns Golden Princess Amusements, Lap Yan Films, and Always Good Film Company (*Asiaweek* 1983:33).

A Golden Harvest executive emphasized that all of his company's subsidiaries are in the movie industry and were formed to meet specific needs: "It's easier to form a new company than to have departments as other producers do. For bookkeeping purposes, it's easier to operate this way" (Interview, David Chan, 1986).

Cinema City was formed by three filmmakers, Carl Mak, Dean Shek, and Raymond Wong. A studio official said their involvement as creative entities made Cinema City different from Golden Harvest and Shaw, both run by businessmen. He granted, however, that big money backed Cinema City:

Mak got to know Lawrence Louey of Kowloon Developments, a bus transport company. Mak had not been very successful in his filmmaking. When he got Louey's support, everything was okay (Interview, Peter Lam, 1986).

Cinema City's first film was backed by Golden Princess Amusements, a subsidiary of the investment consortium, Kowloon Developments, which in turn, owns Kowloon Motor Bus Company. After a year, Golden Princess formally acquired 51 percent of Cinema City.

Although by the late 1980s, Hong Kong had 30 production companies, only six (Golden Harvest, Cinema City, D and B, Always Good, Seasonal, and Sil-Metropole) were active, making most of the 100 films per year. Big budget movies, some with foreign stars (and locations), have been in vogue, causing a disproportionate part of the film budgets going to a few stars. The program coordinator of the

Hong Kong film festival, Li Cheuk-To, explained:

The industry is very imitative here. For a few years now, those who are successful use superstars and big budgets. This makes it harder for the small independents to complete; they can't afford the price (Interview, Li Cheuk-To, 1986).

Even the big studios find it difficult to shell out the astronomical sums that superstars, especially foreign ones, demand. Cinema City discontinued signing superstars after its first three years in existence (Interview, Lam, 1986). Most new production companies do not have their own studios, preferring the less expensive way of shooting on location.

One of the objectives of ROC Government Information Office in the late 1980s was to prod the 112 inactive producers to make films. The government ruled that a producer had to make a least one film yearly. The issue was complex because many producers were also distributors and exhibitors.

The number of feature films in Taiwan steadily dwindled during the past decade — to well below the 99 recorded in 1985. Even Central Motion Picture Corporation, which averaged 16 films annually through 1986, finished only three short and two feature-length films by the end of the summer of 1988. Reasons given for the cutbacks included financial problems caused by big stars chewing up as much as 40 percent of production budgets (interviews. H.S. Chow, Wan Jen, 1986) and the inability to get outside investors. One longtime producer said, "Banks do not want to invest as they are not familiar with businesses such as film" (Interview, Liao Hsiang-Hsiang, 1986).

Many approaches have been taken to seek production funds for Taiwan film. Some studios, Golden Harvest prominent among them, receive financial boosts for their parent companies elsewhere (Interview, Lee Pai-Kwi, 1986), while Tom Son pictures generates its own capital (Interview, Wade Yao, 1986). Scholars Motion Picture Company receives money from local businessmen and especially its owner, Tsai Sung-Lin (Interview, Wang Ming-Tsann, 1986), and General Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC) depends upon its own resources (studio rental, video-cassette production, and film printing) (Interview, Benny Chao, 1986).

As the country's largest film producer, CMPC employs more than 700 people to staff its studio (one of six in Taiwan). Film Laboratory, the Chinese Cultural Movietown, Folk Custom Museum, Wax Figures Museum, and Advertisement Short Film Department. CMPC, which has opted for quality films and new directions, gave a group of young directors in the early 1980s, a chance to bring out their sensitive and realistic pictures in what has been called the "new cinema."

Since 1976 mainland China's film output has averaged 125 to 150 a year, most done in 16 major studios permitted to produce. Much like that of the U.S. in the 1930s and 1940s and other parts of East Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, a studio system dominates in mainland China, each studio known for a certain type of work and degree of quality. Studios are usually designed to serve local-regional interests, and some have specialized functions.

Full staffs are kept at each studio, even though some are idle at times. For example, Beijing Film Studio has 70 directors, although only 20 films are produced each year. Thus, directors wait

their turns to direct. Because of the multiplicity of dialects in China, most films are produced without sound which is dubbed in later.

Economically, the mainland Chinese industry suffered a drastic decline in box-office receipts in 1988, prompting a huge reduction in the number of films produced. As a result, producers often opted for poorly-made, repetitious thrillers and martial arts films as they looked to Hollywood for solutions.

Before 1985, when the earlier-described MPEAA pressures changed Korean filmmaking, 20 production companies were allowed to function, annually turning out 80 to 100 feature-length films. The government, which sanctioned production houses, did not favor minor companies; thus, a tradition of freelance producers did not materialize. But, as with other aspects of Korean film, this changed in 1985 when a new crop of producers emerged, some willing to invest in unconventional films. By 1988, the number of movie outfits shot up to at least 76, although the number of domestic films was only 86 the previous year. Most of them lost money.

Less stringent foreign exchange and travel controls gave Korean producers more opportunities to invest in films with foreign locations, but this also meant increased production costs, already considered too high. Producer Yu Hyun-mok discussed other problems. He said the industry was plagued with a lack of modern equipment, shortage of scriptwriters, and a village mentality that does not comprehend many films. Yu believed scriptwriting especially was a serious problem.

With the small investment made in film, we cannot furnish the writers needed to write in short periods of time. There-

fore, directors, many of whom have qualifications to amend scripts, usually start a production by revising the script (Interview, Yu Hyun-mok, 1982).

Yu was critical of the system that favored the selected 20 producers, claiming they "often chose films solely on the basis of making profits and hired directors who flattered them." Others concurred (Interviews, C.M. Chang, Han Chae Soo, and Lee Jin Keun, 1982).

Directing, Acting, Scriptwriting

Most of East Asia saw the emergence, in the 1980s, of a new generation of directors, the death of the star system, and a continued dearth of good scriptwriters.

Mainland China, which divides filmmakers into epochs, has entered its Fifth Generation, considered the "new wave." Most of the Fifth Generation directors are young people who worked in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution and later were graduated from the Beijing Film Institute. Their Cultural Revolution experiences significantly shaped their films.

Different from earlier filmmakers, the Fifth Generation has a desire to assimilate all of Western culture and a bold, rebellious spirit into its work. Most of these directors are more concerned about using film to express their deep feelings — their own personalities, than to make profits. They are interested in the past, rather than the present, and reject film as a vehicle for political propaganda or escapist fantasy. Not a collective per se — but rather a group of individuals of similar age and life experiences —, the Fifth Generation has brought to the screen unique, personal observations unlike those

of their predecessors or of foreigners.

Republic of China had a similar "new wave" in the early 1980s. About ten new directors at the time, turned their attention to social awareness and consciousness issues. They told their stories differently, not using melodramatic techniques, shunned the famous stars, and composed for the regular-sized screen, disdaining cinemascope (Interview, Li Yuan, 1986). They were further characterized by their studying filmmaking abroad, working as freelancers not connected to an individual company, making fewer pictures a year, and favoring natural settings over studios.

Distinguishing between "new" and "old" directors, Chen Kun-Hou, himself a director, said the "new" have a "more assured, personal style," whereas the "old" take an "average, common stand" (Interview, Chen Kun-Hou, 1986). Middle-aged directors (40 to 45 years old) were classified by another director as using a mix of old and new styles and themes, which he thought would become the familiar manner of directing (Interview, Wan Jen, 1986).

The R.O.C. film industry does not have a casting or agent system. Actress Hu Yin-Meng said that directors "just hire people with the best records, a 'most wanted' list," because there is no tradition of reading for a part. An actors' guild exists, but it is ineffective, she said. A result is that complaints are not filed against producers who pay an Hong Kong actress one-fourth of a film's budget, while the rest of the cast, all from Taiwan, split one percent (Interview, Hu Yin-Meng).

Hu said that often times the film environment does not allow actors to be more professional because they have to make quick decisions. She provided an

example:

On one occasion, I was asked the previous evening to do a film that started shooting in the morning. When I arrived on the set, I did not have the right jogging outfit called for in the film. We had to wait until a shop opened to get a jogging suit. Even Meryl Streep would not be able to act in this lousy environment (Interview, Hu, 1986).

A film reporter for Taipei's *United Daily News* had similar misgivings about the acting profession. Lan Tsu-Wei said some new stars "only own a beautiful face" and usually are not trained. Furthermore, he said Taiwan has not developed its own school of acting; instead, directors tell actors to be natural and real, but not too dramatic. The star system has declined in Taiwan, partly because some directors do not want to see the same faces in films, and because they cannot pay the demanded salaries. To make a living, actors and actresses often perform in more than one picture simultaneously, not giving any one their best efforts, he said. (Interview, Lan Tsu-Wei, 1986).

Hong Kong's brief encounter with "new wave" in the late 1970s and early 1980s has left critics hankering for a return to that style of directing. Refreshingly realistic and socially conscious, "new wave" directors' works held a mirror to Hong Kong society, revealing the myth of urban prosperity, the dissatisfaction of youth, or the uncertainty about the territory's future and identity. Bicultural "new wave" directors preferred stories dealing with international or universal themes, rather than classical aspects of Chinese society, thereby modernizing local film (Interview, Li Cheuk-To, 1986). "New wave" Director Allen Fong characterized these film-

makers as,

Young people who want to be honest with themselves. They think, "I have this feeling; I want to express myself and get feedback." They are less concerned with genre, with packaging (because they are less experienced), publicity, and distribution. They use better technique (Interview, Allen Fong, 1986).

Spearheaded by this group of young, trained-abroad directors, most of whom surfaced first on Hong Kong television, the "new wave" initially attracted finances and the attention of new production outfits. But their good fortunes changed so that by 1986, of the original 30 to 40 "new wave" directors, only five were still making films. One explanation was that "producers did not support their work which did not make hits" (Interview, Nansun Shi, 1986). Some of them "defected" when they were hired by Cinema City to do big budget movies. Li Cheuk-To said, "Most young directors were successful, and being pragmatic as Hong Kong people are, they made more pictures so they could direct their creative ones." The trouble was that many quit making the creative pictures (Interview, Li, 1986).

When "new wave" directors are used today, they are expected to keep an eye on the box office, as a Golden Harvest official explained:

We give and will continue to give more chances to "new wave" directors. But, we don't want them to do only the artistic. We expect them to combine art and commercial. How do you do that? Work with them on a commercial topic but use their artistic style (Interview, Chan, 1986).

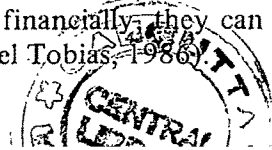
Fong, who continues to produce films in Hong Kong with minimal commercial constraints, allowed that there had to be a compromise between the aesthetic and commercial:

Films are surviving now as a mixture of commercial and new aesthetic work. I don't feel this is a contradiction as we all want to make good films that sell. If directors do everything for money, then there is a problem (Interview, Fong, 1986).

Unfortunately, most Hong Kong directors are seen as primarily money-oriented, their cinema stereotyped in the process. As one writer noted:

Its staging, design and camera work are all highly standardized, while its acting-styles, approach to characterization, smart-ass lines and gags are all uniformly hyperbolic (Urban Council 1986:7).

Hong Kong directors also have been characterized as working in genres, doing very little creative filmmaking, but rather, waiting to cash in on the next film fad (Jarvie 1977:119, 121). They are accused of making too many concessions detrimental to quality cinema work: shooting on location abroad to provide the crew a free tour bonus; developing plots to serve stars' talents; exaggerating the acting; filling movies with acrobatic skill demonstrations; borrowing too many ideas from the West or from old Hong Kong films, and ignoring sound effects and editing (Kam Ping-Hing quoted in Urban Council 1986:11). One critic said Hong Kong had very few important directors in the 1980s, because, "Nowadays anyone can be a director; they are on a trial basis, and if they make it financially, they can go on" (Interview, Mel Tobias, 1986).



A skill sought in Hong Kong directors has been their ability to handle scripts. Because of a shortage of good story materials, directors have been expected to edit outlines and partial scripts into final products. In cases where directors have not had these skills, comedies have been "brainstormed" and other movie plots developed while shooting was going on. "That is why continuity is strange; different pieces are slapped together," Tobias (Interview, 1986) said. Another filmmaker said scriptwriting was weak because production companies manipulate story ideas and scriptwriters do not initiate a story (Interview, Law Wai-Ming, 1986).

The opening of the Korean film market to more producers was expected to be a boost for directors, most of whom have had to hustle to make a living. A couple of directors who have been successful are Bae Chang-ho and Im Kwon t'aek. Bae directed six films between 1982-85, four of which were rather profitable, and one, *Deep Blue Night*, was the all-time box office champion. Bae produces films inexpensively and uses simple, light personal themes in his work. By the mid-1980s, Im had more than 70 titles to his credit, a number of which made money.

In Korea, musical scores on sound tracks and scriptwriting have come in for severe criticism. Time pressures requiring that screenplays be done in a month or less are part of the problem with weak scripts, as is poor pay. Few writers receive more than US\$3,000 per script, necessitating that they turn out too many poor quality works in a year.

Japan has had some radical changes in film directing as a group of young directors, in their twenties and thirties, have come onto the scene with a host of

teenager-oriented films. The old times continue to direct as well, giants such as Kurosawa, Oshima, and Ichikawa.

Casting has not been consistent in Japan as the industry does not have a casting system and actors are not unionized. Usually, the producer decides on the cast for major roles; the director for supporting actors and actresses. With the demise of the star system, all major actors are now free agents.

Distribution and Exhibition

Invariably, complaints are sounded that film distributors of East Asia command too much clout, oftentimes making crucial production decisions.

This is especially evident in R.O.C. where film distributors' strength emanates from their control of the only outlets for local movies, there not being much of an export market (Interview, Lee Pai-Kwi, 1986). The drying up of overseas markets, especially to Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Chinatowns of the West, has been blamed on the plentiful supply of video-cassettes, protectionist policies of film-producing countries, the inability to compete with Hong Kong as a distributor of Chinese films, and insufficient promotion (Interviews, Chen Yao-Chi, Richard C. Tu, 1986).

Because of the power of distributors, producers have been known to relinquish their prerogatives in choice of directors, actors, and scripts in order to gain the support of distributors, whom they depend upon for a line of theaters for their pictures. Benny Chao, production head at CMPC, explained:

The power of distributors is great.
When we produce a movie, we put a lot

of money into it. Since we usually do not have theaters, distributors put a lot of pressure on us to do certain types of movies. They dominate sometimes. Usually distributors are very profit motivated (Interview, Chao, 1986).

Other film personnel agreed on the control distributors wield over producers (Interviews, Chen Kun-Hou, Danny Tchii, 1986).

Taiwan has a large number of distribution companies and theaters; these and producers are entwined in that many distributors own theaters and some produce films. In 1986, 936 companies claimed to be distributors, although only 212 distributed the one required film yearly, and fewer than a half dozen actually controlled distribution. At the same time, the country had 792 theaters, 110 of which were in Taipei, another 90 in Kaohsiung (Interviews, Liu Shou-Chi and Chiang Tsou-Ming, 1986).

The largest domestically-invested distributor, Scholars Motion Picture Company, was created in the early 1980s by Tsai Sung-Lin. By 1986, Scholars distributed at least 15 Taiwan-made movies yearly — one or two produced by its production arm, another ten to twelve by satellite companies owned by Tsai's friends and in which he invested (Interview, Wang Ming-Tsann, 1986). In 1986, Tsai strengthened his hold on the film industry by reorganizing a number of theaters he owned (15 to 20, or one-sixth of Taipei's total).

Scholars Production Manager Wang Ming-Tsann told how Tsai operates: Tsai has abandoned using partners. Instead, he gets money from the theaters. A proposal for a movie title, with cast and themes, is provided the theaters, which then put up the money for the production. The theaters, which

only invest a little money, deal only with those production companies that have a reputation. The payoff to the theaters is a box office guarantee. They invest so they can realize good productions that generate box office success (Interview, Wang, 1986).

CMPC is also in the production, distribution, and exhibition aspects of cinema; in the mid-1980s, the company produced 16 films yearly, distributed 12 to 14 others (usually from the U.S.), and owned 12 theaters.

Films have very short runs in Taiwan. In two weeks or less, a film will be shown in 40 to 60 theaters, after which it is shelved and does not stand much chance of being seen again. Depended upon to fill theaters are foreign movies, most of which come from the U.S. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the number of U.S. films allowed to be imported had dwindled from 110 to 50, causing the MPEAA to rail against the slices. However, in 1986, the Government Information Office dropped the quota system, causing local filmmakers much fear about the impact an open market would have upon Mandarin film viewing.

Japan abolished its quota system in the mid-1960s, a result being that the country has become the largest foreign market for U.S. pictures. Although 47 companies distribute the nearly 500 foreign and 265 domestic films shown yearly in Japan, the absence of anti-cartel laws means the big production companies control distribution. Toho is the largest with 531 theaters.

The number of theaters has steadily shrunk (by 40 to 50 annually), especially in smaller cities, and about 2,000 remain. Some new development of theaters has occurred in the metropolitan areas; usually, they are tied to department stores

with the aim of getting viewers to shop. Film admission is expensive in Japan, starting at US\$7; in larger theaters, a regular seat costs US\$12 to \$13.60 and a reserved one, \$16.

Profits from film distribution in Japan amounted to US\$260.26 million in 1988, an increase of 6.2 percent over the previous year. But this is small compared to the take of videocassettes, which was US\$2.4 billion.

Videocassettes, especially pirated, are being watched closely in Japan and the rest of East Asia, where they have had profound effects upon film box-office receipts, television viewing, indigenous values and morals, and national economies. In 1988, the Japan Video Association Rental System formed a committee to deal with piracy, placing much responsibility in the hands of distributors. Also that year the "Crime of Possessing Pirate Editions" Law was passed. In R.O.C., much government and industry energy has been expended on curbing the illegal production and distribution of videos. The problem was compounded in the latter 1980s with the proliferation of MTV (movie television) clubs, thought by some to be piracy dens. A video law, which allows for shop raids and penalties, has been implemented by the Government Information Office, Department of Radio and Television, the Motion Picture Association of Taiwan, and the Union of Videogram Distributors.

As in most East Asia, domestic distribution of film in Hong Kong is concentrated, tending towards monopolization. A director said of the distribution system:

It's the old American monopoly. People who distribute, also own theaters, advertising companies, and production houses. It's extremely condensed capitalism — a type you can't

find anywhere in the world. We're more capitalistic and cutthroat than the United States. If you survive Hong Kong society, you can survive anywhere (Interview, Fong, 1986).

Competition is so severe that companies are forced to make quick decisions as a matter of survival. In the mid-1980s, D and B rented the Shaw theaters, primarily to show their films, but also to insure that Cinema City and Golden Harvest did not pick them up. D and B was thus strapped into producing films at a furious pace to fill the theaters (Interview, Li, 1986).

Hong Kong has three major distribution circuits, each with 10 to 15 theaters, and each tied to a production company. Golden Harvest has Gala Distribution; Cinema City owns Golden Princess, and D and B functions also as a distributor. A fourth, Sil-Metropole, distributes films backed by, or imported from, China. Independents not tied into the distribution circuits have fought for survival, lacking good exhibition slots for their films. In 1988, Newport Entertainment Ltd. was created as a distributor catering to the independents.

A film can be seen in as many as 30 Hong Kong theaters simultaneously, for one to two weeks. The short run discourages producers from pumping large amounts of money into films or forces them to seek alternative markets overseas or through cable and video (Interview, Tobias, 1986).

Box-office receipts are split with distributors and exhibitors (basically the same people) receiving 60 percent and producers, 40 percent. Movie viewing is still an important leisure activity in Hong Kong, and is likely to remain so, according to Tobias:

Because of the small flats we live in, we want to go out after a hard day's work. We would not want to watch video or cable TV with six other family members in a tiny room. The concept here is to get out, to have some space, to enjoy free air conditioning in a theater. Also, people here like to be in masses, with other people, and it's safe to go out at night (Interview, Tobias, 1986).

For reasons such as these, the videocassette business had a slow start. By 1987, this also changed as at least 400,000 VCR owners existed in Hong Kong. Movie personnel complained that their shares of entertainment markets were being taken over by video. Foreign distribution of Hong Kong movies definitely was adversely affected. Perplexed as how to deal with the problem, a Golden Harvest official said:

Pirates go into cinemas and photograph our movies. Though of poor quality, the videocassettes then are rented in Chinatowns. When our films are released three months later in Korea, Thailand, Philippines, and elsewhere, forget it; the people have already seen them (Interview, Chan, 1986).

Videocassette inroads into the overseas markets of Hong Kong film is taken very seriously since producers traditionally have banked on films making as much in Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, and Western Chinatowns as they do in Hong Kong. One filmmaker said that 20 years ago, the Chinese in all of these countries were recent immigrants and preferred Chinese movies, but the new generation born outside of China, has taken up international tastes (Interview, Chan, 1986).

Other problems exist concerning overseas distribution. When kung fu was the rage, distributors merely had to dub in other languages. But comedies and stories

about Hong Kong contemporary life, currently in vogue, do not export well. Hong Kong distributors also find it difficult to satisfy the ideologically-split Chinese markets of Republic of China and mainland China.

Korean features have not been popular abroad, despite promotional efforts of the Motion Picture Promotion Corporation. In the early 1980s, most of the films went to Southeast Asia and a few to Europe (Interview, Lee Jin Keun, 1986). Small numbers are also shipped to the U.S. and Japan for overseas Korean communities. Future possibilities of increasing overseas markets seem remote.

All Korean films are distributed through the Koream Motion Picture Distributors Association, created by the Motion Picture Law and consisting mainly of theater owners. Production companies usually negotiate for distribution directly with the theaters, the contract often specifying 55 percent for the producer and 45 percent for the theater. A production company may negotiate with all 12 large Seoul theaters simultaneously, but may not have an exclusive booking with more than two theaters for one film.

The government strictly controls film exhibition through the Performance Law. Admission fees are set by law, depending upon the production costs of domestic, and the import costs of foreign, films. In the early 1980s, the admission fee was US\$3. Admission and cultural promotion taxes of ten percent each are added, the latter vital to the promotion of Korean arts and culture. For years, each of the 20 selected producers received 300 million won annually from the tax.

Theaters have gone out of business regularly since the 1971 peak of 717; by 1988, only 370 to 380 were left. However with direct distribution, U.S. companies were expected to put up multi-

plexes.

For years, a quota system to protect domestic film production reserved one-third of all exhibition days for Korean films. After direct distribution, in 1988, the government raised the number to 146. Despite such protectionist measures, attendances for domestic films continued to shrink in the 1980s. Total paid admittances in 1980 were only 54.5 million, compared to the 1969 high of 173 million.

Import and export quotas have been used to encourage domestic film production. At times, import licenses were awarded on the bases of the number of local productions filmmakers made (often resulting in shoddy quickies), on the number of Korean films they exported, and on their winning of national film awards for quality work.

Before direct distribution, only 22 or 23 foreign movies were permitted each year, and they had to be top quality works (Interview, Lee Jin Keun, 1986). One filmmaker said quality was assured because of censorship restrictions and because the producers were conscientious and realized that to make a profit, they had to seek the best from the outside. He said a quota certificate was equivalent to about US\$300,000 (Interview, Yu, 1982).

The long experience of using foreign films to fill theaters, and the lifting of import quotas in 1987, meant bad times for Korean producers. With very limited possibilities of selling their films abroad, they had to expand the domestic market. But, this was an insurmountable task; for example, more than 70 percent of the box-office receipts in 1987 emanated from screenings of foreign films, and only four domestic works had 100,000 viewers, while five U.S. movies exceeded 300,000 each (*Asiaweek* 1988:38).

Professionalism

In every East Asian country, major efforts have been made to upgrade the professionalism. Unions and professional organizations have been developed, training institutions opened, film festivals sponsored, and awards given for outstanding efforts. Yet, in each instance, there is a feeling that much more needs to be done.

Particularly is this the case with training. In Hong Kong and Taiwan, insufficient training was considered a major problem although some colleges and universities have had film courses. Japan has three universities that offer degrees in film, as well as some private institutes with training programs. Much of the film training in Korea is provided by the government, which through its Motion Picture Promotion Corporation, sends young people abroad for training and education, sponsors overseas study tours for various filmmakers, and sponsors the Korean Academy of Fine Arts. At least four Korean universities, one arts college, and two high schools include film training in their curricula; every year, about 1,300 film students are graduated. Only one in every 20 applicants for the university film programs receives a slot.

Competition for admittance to the Beijing Film Academy is also very keen. Each year, 150 students train at the government-funded institute. They receive government money to make films and very close supervision by a faculty of 200 and a total staff of 509.

Annual awards for exceptional filmmaking are provided in at least Republic of China and Korea. Taiwan's Golden Horse awards are shared with Hong Kong film personnel, while the Grand Bell awards are reserved for Koreans only.

Established by the government in 1962, the Grand Bell is awarded to 21 pictures or individuals. Besides its prestige value, the award has been financially remunerative as well. Quotas to import foreign films were assigned to the producers of the best and "most excellent" films, while US\$100,000 was given each of the other 19 winners..

The international film festivals of Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan became significant in the 1980s allowing local audiences to view top works from around the world. The Tokyo International Film Festival is sponsored by the League of Japanese Filmmakers, and the annual Golden Horse International Film Festival of Taiwan, by the Film Library of the Foundation for the Development of the Motion Picture Industry. Started in 1980, the Golden Horse festival exhibits 120 film entries from numerous countries in two Taipei theaters.

Since 1977, the Annual Hong Kong International Film Festival, sponsored by the Urban Council, has screened Hong Kong, Asian, and other foreign films, and has published programs and books to familiarize and make audiences appreciative of these works. The non-competitive festival has also helped locate and preserve old Hong Kong films.

A number of professional organizations have lent aid to the industry. In Japan, the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute and the National Film Center have worked in film exhibition and exchange and the Art Theater Guild has spurred high quality film by providing subsidies to producers. Taiwan has many film support groups involved in training, creating higher quality film, finding overseas markets, and tackling the problem of video piracy. Among them are the Foundation for the Development of the

Motion Picture Industry and the Motion Picture Association of Taiwan (MPAT). The former sponsors the Film Library, which organizes the Golden Horse International Film Festival, awards scholarships, grants subsidies to young directors, and encourages experimental film (Interview, Hsu Li-Kong, 1986). The older MPAT is the largest film body in Taiwan with 800 members. It is similar to a union; among its activities have been campaigns to combat piracy and liberalize censorship laws (Interview, H. S. Chou, 1986).

Conclusion

East Asian cinema has had a long, rich, and varied history. Films were produced in the region before there was a Hollywood, and they were viewed nearly as early as anywhere in the world. Although significantly marked by a number of Western influences, East Asian film also has been unique, contributing styles, and even genres, that have been adopted outside Asia.

Very few regions of the world have had such prolific production. In their peak periods, Japanese filmmakers produced more cinema annually than their American counterparts. They, and filmmakers in other East Asian countries, were among the world's production leaders at various times.

Most of the industries have suffered similar difficulties — the strong audience pull of U.S. films and pressure from American industry and government leaders for distribution rights, the concentration of ownership in conglomerates, some of which have not been film-based, and the homogenization of cinematic tastes, often catering to a lower common

denominator that is characteristic of film out the world.
and the arts more generally through-

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Cultural Value in Japanese Management

Robert E. Allinson

This paper will be devoted to illustrating how a phrase normally considered beyond repute among hard-boiled business people and anyone else who "knows their salt", is responsible for the generation of a mentality, which, more than any other single factor is probably responsible for America's second place position in the economic world.¹ I do not mean to say that this phrase is singly responsible for America's second rate economic posture. But a careful examination of this phrase reflects an entire attitude towards the conduct of business which, I believe a plausible case can be made out to be the most important single factor responsible for America's slippage from number one to number two. It will be pointed out that the "bottom line" mentality is not only a chief factor in America's decline as the world's economic leader but that moreover it is also a relection of a non-crisis prevention management style. Or, to put it another way, it is a crisis prevention management style that, coupled with some other extremely important factors, is responsible for Japan's economic miracle. The crisis prevention management style can be traced to cultural and historical origins. The following of the crisis prevention style of management can be likened to the behaviour of the ant; the following of the non-crisis prevention style of management can be likened to the following of the behaviour of the grass-

hopper. The same factors that are the ingredients in a crisis prevention management style are the ingredients in an optimally successful management style. The argument may become even more compelling if one examines it at work in the Japanese management system. When one recognizes that the primal motivation of the Japanese management style is a crisis prevention mentality, crisis prevention management may take on an entirely new significance. If the argument of this paper is successful, it will show that crisis prevention management is not only an essential ingredient of an individual company's domestic economic success, it makes up the ingredients in America's regaining the number one economic position — or — at the very least of closing the gap between numbers one and two.

The present paper will concentrate on the case of Japan as a special case of a non-bottom line mentality. It is possible to function in business without being ruled by the bottom line. Not only is it possible, it is actual, and we have a large empirical case with which to deal, the country of Japan. In this paper, we will focus on the non-bottom line mentality as it affects a firm's international position, or the firm insofar as it is involved in international trade. This paper will illustrate how a crisis prevention mentality is the prime motivating force behind the strategic management of the Japanese

companies' foreign trade policy. We can therefore think of this as external crisis prevention management.

When the crisis prevention management model is properly understood and followed it can possess enormous consequences not only for the survival of a particular company but of the economic survival of an entire country. Crisis prevention management is actually an instance of NOT following the bottom line. So, it would be best to begin by analyzing the phenomenon of the bottom line mentality.

The Bottom Line

What on earth can possibly be wrong with the phrase, 'the bottom line'? The phrase, 'the bottom' line derives its power of influence in part from the fact that no one (apart from the Japanese as we shall shortly observe) sees fit to question it. Since no one would think of questioning the truth of the attitude conveyed by observing the 'bottom line', no one (who is tyrannized by this phrase) would ever consider conducting business in any other way other than watching out for the 'bottom line'. In fact, this phrase is so powerful in its influence that being considered a business person is tantamount to being a person who under all circumstances (within reason) decides the course of action to be taken with respect to the implications for the bottom line' or the profit margin. Thus, not following the bottom line would be equivalent to not being a business person and thus any action not in harmony with the 'bottom line' objective would not be considered a business action and hence would not be taken by any rational business concern.

If we stop to consider the 'bottom line' position, it is but a short step from it

to the tyranny of the accountants. When a business is considering some action, whether it be branching out into a new market, developing a new product, or competing with other firms for a market share, the power behind the decision is not the marketing man, not the R&D man, not the manager, but the accountant. The most important governing influence in deciding upon any course of action is the quarterly earnings statement. That is the deciding factor. Any arguments put forth in terms of long term benefits, growth, market share and so on, are quickly put to rest. No argument stands a chance against the authority of the 'bottom line.'

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in large measure, one of the factors responsible for Japan's success in the international market in particular (which has contributed more than anything else to Japan's overall economic posture), is the willingness and indeed the priority of its companies to allow profit margin to take a back seat to immeasurably slow growth and eventual market share over the very long run. For Japan, the world's number one, the 'bottom line' mentality is a valuable mentality to possess, but only for its economic opponents and eventual victims. The failure of the 'bottom line' mentality is only possible when another economic power does not operate according to the 'bottom line'. In other words, to a large extent, Japan's success owes itself to America's willingness to budge from the 'bottom line' mentality. Were America also possessed of the patience and the willingness to allow marketing men, R&D men, and managers the lion's share of the decision making power, Japan would have a real fight on its hand. But so long as the accountants enjoy their unquestioned and

unquestionable position of authority in America's companies, Japan will continue to enjoy its unchallenged and unchallengeable number one position. Or, to put this in another way it is not quite correct to focus single-mindedly on WHAT JAPAN IS DOING in order to discern the causes of its economic miracle.² This is to assume that Japan is operating in a vacuum. It is of equal importance to take notice of what the rest of the world, in particular America, is *not* doing that makes what Japan is doing possible. For example, if American companies do not concentrate on market share, it makes it all the more possible for Japanese companies to do so. The Japanese miracle is as much a function of what Japan is doing as it is a function of what America is *not* doing.

It has been a much observed fact that one of the central corporate strategies of Japanese companies is to concentrate on market share rather than profit margin. This is in sharp contrast to the bottom line mentality of most U.S. firms. Mark Zimmerman, formerly President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, contrast Japanese and American strategic management approaches in his book, *Dealing with the Japanese*:

I work for an American company that has over half its business overseas. . . Opportunities are missed daily at American companies because projects that have real market potential are shot down by the exigencies of the quarterly-earnings statement . . . In contrast with this, the Japanese approach is to focus on growth and let the profits take care of themselves.³

Another way of putting this point is to say that the Japanese take the long term view as opposed to the short term view. It is precisely by taking the long

term view that the Japanese have succeeded in taking over the market share from American companies. Of course, this is not the only factor. But taking the long term view is an integral part of an entire corporate management style and management system that characterizes the Japanese management system. Zimmerman attributes part of the reason for Japanese corporate success throughout the world to their taking the long term view. This was one of the factors, according to Zimmerman, that played a large role in the Japanese capture of automobile industry in the United States. Even what constitutes the long term for Japanese companies differs from what constitutes the long term for Western companies:

When I say that the Japanese have a long-term point of view, I mean that once they decided to enter a market they have the patience and tenacity to wait years for profits. It is rumored that it took Toyota eight years before it make its first profit in the United States.⁴

The crisis prevention mentality of the Japanese is sharply contrasted to the bottom line mentality of the Americans in the story of what happened in the early 1980's when Japanese car manufacturers were asked to make voluntary restraints on exports to the U.S. They complied. This would have been the ideal time for the U.S. car manufacturers to decrease prices and drive the Japanese out of the market. Instead, thinking that Japanese competition had decreased, the U.S. car manufacturers increased their prices, thinking, as always, of a quick return. As a result, the Japanese car manufacturers did even better than they ever had before. The Japanese companies even complained to the U.S. Justice Department that the

U.S. car manufacturers had acted as a cartel in getting together to fix prices even though such price-fixing actually worked to their own (Japanese) interests.

While there are undoubtedly many factors which are involved in the Japanese miracle, it is of special interest how many of these factors are contrary to the bottom line mentality. Even Japanese accounting practises themselves are not what we think of as strict cost accounting practises. Japanese accounting might be better described as market-driven accounting rather than cost accounting. Japanese accounting serves corporate strategy rather than controlling it. Toshiro Hiromoto points out in his article, 'Another Hidden Edge - Japanese Management Accounting,' that:

Accounting in Japan also reflects and an overriding commitment to market-driven management. When estimating costs on new products, for example, many companies make it a point not to rely completely on prevailing engineering standards. Instead, they establish target costs derived from estimates of a competitive market price. These target costs are usually well below currently achievable costs . . . ⁵

Accounting practises, rather than simply consisting of a summary of current costs, are tied to the future market. In addition, Japanese accounting practises take non-financial measures into account as well. According to Hiromoto, costs sometimes include non-productive activities which are not directly related to online production. In order to reduce future costs, corrective maintenance is taken into account which involves redesigning equipment to reduce failures and to facilitate routine maintenance.⁶ All of this is to say that accounting serves management strategy and not the reverse. Even the

bottom-line in Japan is not a simple given but is flexible and both market-driven and inclusive of non-financial measures.

The Ant and the Grasshopper

While we have discussed both the power and the shortcomings of the 'bottom line' mentality and how its failure rate accelerates when it is pitted against a mentality which is not governed by the bottom line', (or, conversely, how the mentality not governed by the bottom line' can win in a battle with a mentality which is governed by the 'bottom line'), we have not yet demonstrated what all of this has to do with crisis prevention management. What we would like to do next is to show the connection between the absence of a bottom line mentality and an underlying governing principle of crisis prevention.

In the story of the ant and the grasshopper, the grasshopper never displays a care about the morrow. He enjoys each moment of existence and lives from one day to the next. He does so because he possesses no anxiety about the future. For some unaccountable reason, he is supremely confident that tomorrow will take care of itself and that since he is happy and brilliantly successful today, he need take no steps against the eventualities of a turn in fortune. In other words, he is totally mentally insulated against the possibility of a disaster scenario. He laughs at the worrisome ant who trudges on without enjoying any glorious moments, saving up without any sign of immediate profitable enjoyment, against the eventualities of some dark and distant future. It is easy to recognize the characters in this drama. The grasshopper is, of course, the United States and the ant is Japan. What is not so easy to recognize is

the motivation that is behind the mentality of the ant. The primal motivation is fear. The ant has known want and wishes to guarantee that want will never return. There are two ways of guaranteeing the non-existence of want. The first way is to control sufficient resources for ones' needs. One method of guaranteeing control over the resources that one needs is through physical possession of them. If one does not possess the natural resources, then it is necessary to take control of a country that does possess them. This is the method of aggressive warfare and it was to gain control of natural resources that motivated Japan's aggressive actions that began with the invasion of China that led to World War Two. (One may consider that there is such a species as the soldier ant, but there is no parallel species of soldier grasshopper.) Another method of controlling natural resources is to create a continuous and permanent source of supply of them through favorable trade relationships with other countries. What Japan was unable to accomplish through the first strategem it has been highly successful in accomplishing through the second. It is highly unlikely that Japan will resort to war in the very near future. For one thing, it lacks the military capacity. For another, and perhaps most important, its losses in the last war were phenomenal. She lost 1,850,000 lives, over a third of which were lost in Japan proper as a result of air raids. Forty per cent of Japan's aggregate urban area was destroyed, and some 2,252,000 buildings were destroyed.⁷ But there is no need for Japan to return to a war policy. It has been far more successful in its trade strategy. The only guarantee against the return of a position of need is the guarantee that there will be a permanent demand for its products and a permanent

and abundant supply of materials for its needs. And the only way to insure that both demand and supply will never dry up is to completely control both supply and demand markets. If the price to pay for this is some delayed gratification, then this price is ridiculously small.

Japan possesses enough natural resources to take care of approximately 35 million people. Its population consists of 122.9 million people. It has approximately 80 million extra people for which it *requires* trade to support. Necessity, it has been said, is the mother of invention. Japan is known for its innovative management practises, its high tech manufacturing processes and its effective trading styles. But Japanese management, Japanese manufacturing processes and Japanese trading practises all derive their motus for being in the first place from necessity. A real condition of necessity is at the bottom of the existence of a fear mentality. And fear is a powerful stimulus to not only getting ahead of the competition and staying ahead of the competition but endeavoring to arrange matters so that one's being ahead of the competition (and thus in a permanent position of control) is insured. And what better method for this can be found than controlling both supply and demand markets? And does it matter that this might mean a low quarterly earnings statement for the next eight to ten years?

According to Reiko Niimi, the fear factor is not a mere logical possibility for Japan. It has roots in living memory. In her article, 'The Problem of Food Security,' she states that, "The memories of acute shortages and the poor quality of food during and immediately after World War II are still very vivid to the adult population in Japan."⁸

The existence of this fear is well

founded. According to Nobutoshi Akao, "Of the industrialised countries, Japan is one of the least endowed with indigenous resources and is the most dependent on outside supplies."⁹ The problem is probably most dramatically illustrated in the case of oil since 99.8% of oil is imported in Japan. Akao describes a disaster scenario from the novel, *Yudan* which depicts what would happen if oil imports were cut:

... if oil imports were cut by 70% for 200 days, three million Japanese people would die and 70% of all property would be severely damaged or completely lost, with results more tragic and devastating than the losses in World War II.¹⁰

The Japanese government has played an important role in keeping alive the "export or die" mentality and it is important to remember that this is no recent phenomenon. According to Zimmerman, the Japanese began their first big expansion into international markets in order to buy raw materials and to sell manufactured goods in the 1920's. The government actively encouraged this emphasis on international trade. Zimmerman states that:

... the effort [to expand through international trade] was promoted as crucial to the survival of the country, and sacrifices were demanded of working people — the Japanese were able to seize control of a number of important international markets, and by 1936 its share of the total international trade had reached a level of 4 percent (compared with 10 percent today).¹¹

The grasshopper is not motivated towards a delay in gratification because the grasshopper is not fearful. The grasshopper has no disaster (whether this is

consciously the motive or not is not the question here) that he is anxious to prevent. Therefore, he is interested only in an immediate return on his investments. In fact, if there is no need to prevent any future disasters, why would anyone have any other motive other than a quick return on investments. It is only if there is the strong need to prevent crisis, that one would be willing to delay gratification. It is a crisis prevention mentality that motivates the ant and, in the story, as everyone knows, when winter comes the ant has food to eat and lives and the grasshopper dies. While Zimmerman does not employ the concept of crisis prevention management to describe Japanese management, he does refer to the "export or die" mentality as the reason behind Japan's edge over America:

It is this mentality [export or die] that has given the Japanese the edge over its major rival, for the sheer size of the United States, together with its abundant natural resources, has always tended to reinforce a certain complacency and sustained the illusion that if worst comes to worst, we can draw in our tentacles and survive comfortably in isolation. The Japanese suffer from no such illusions.¹²

Crisis Prevention Management as the Chief Motivating Force Behind Japan as Number One

There have been many books and countless articles written to explain the factors behind Japan's success story. And what we will have to say here will not, in some details, differ from what others have already pointed out. The chief difference in what we will have to say in contrast to what has already been written is that we are attempting to provide a conceptual framework which ties at least a great

number of the factors together. It is of special interest to note that a great number of the factors which are agreed upon by a number of writers to be the leading factors behind the economic miracle of Japan are in fact consequences of a crisis prevention management style.

When we think of crisis prevention management (normally referred to as crisis management in the literature), we think of manuals which are written to turn to in the event of disasters, the use of crisis management teams and so on. Such a view of crisis management is tantamount to locking the barn after the horses are stolen. What is treated as crisis management in management literature is really crisis intervention management. The main concern of this paper is crisis prevention management.

Japan has its own theorists who propound (and companies which follow) crisis intervention management. But such theories and the examples of companies which follow crisis intervention management do not differ in important details from such theorists or companies in the West. Nonetheless, it is of some interest and importance to note that, by and large, there are very few examples of crises and disasters that occur involving Japanese concerns. The reason for this is the same reason for the convincing world success of Japanese companies. Japanese companies already follow (albeit perhaps not consciously) a crisis prevention management style and include in their companies the ingredients which are crucial to the implementation of a crisis prevention management objective. While there are some details which may differ from how such ingredients (such as the will to communicate) could be put in place in Western companies, nevertheless, it is the presence of the same ingredients that are

responsible for successful crisis prevention. The success of the crisis prevention can be noted either from the position of economic power Japanese companies enjoy or from the comparatively near total absence of the occurrence of crises or disasters involving Japanese companies.

**Crisis Prevention Management
as Characteristic of the Country
as a Whole and as a Reason Behind
the 'Country as a Whole' Mentality**

Crisis Prevention Management not only characterizes individual companies in Japan, it reflects an attitude that is taken towards the country as a whole. Sometimes this attitude (and its various manifestations) are referred to as "Japan, Inc.". While there is, of course, strictly speaking no "Japan, Inc.", it seems to an observer that in many ways, industry and government in Japan seem to function almost as a unity with each other. What is interesting to us is to examine what is behind the effective fact (if not the legal entity) of Japan, Inc.

What is behind "Japan, Inc." is a feeling present in nearly every Japanese both of a certain national unity accentuated by the homogeneous culture and the insulation of the "island mentality" and the fact that this national unity possesses a perilous existence and its perilous existence must be maintained and can only be maintained by "sticking together" and thus looking out strongly for what is in the long term interest of the country as a whole. This is very much the way Zimmerman describes what is behind "Japan, Inc.":

There is a degree of truth in the accusation that government, business and labor work hand in glove to ensure that

Japanese business continues to expand worldwide, spurred on by their belief in the vulnerability of their resource poor country.

This, and the consequent specific relationships and practises that exist both between companies and between government and companies make up what is seen by other nations and the companies of other nations as "Japan, Inc." What is of special interest is that "Japan, Inc." exists due to the fact that the perceived survival of the individual company is seen to be closely connected to the survival of other companies and the nation as a whole. In short, there is an attitude that if the country as whole did not exist (including other companies), one's own company could not exist. This attitude is strengthened by the felt acknowledgement that it is really possible that the country as a whole could not exist. For example, since Japan has virtually no natural resources required for an advanced industrial nation, it is completely dependent upon imports for its raw materials. This is only one side of the issue, but we may focus on it for the present as an illustration. The realization that my company in Japan (Japan, Inc.) is dependent upon imports, makes me realize that trade is absolutely critical for my future survival. Japan, like no other nation on earth, is strongly influenced by this realization. The relationship between companies, banks and the government is close. Companies are backed by banks and ultimately the government. When necessary the government will assist the company and will not pursue it with costly lawsuits.¹⁴ Stockholders do not constrain executives with demands for short term profits since the banks normally have a large share of the ownership of companies. Companies, therefore,

are able to operate under a greater security blanket and therefore can risk innovation and expansion. Japanese business is financed to only about 20% by equity and 80% by bank loans. In the U.S., the debt is nearly reversed: 30% by bank loans and 70% by equity.¹⁵ As a result, a company has more flexibility and can ride out hard times without having to take profits on behalf of stockholders.

Government aids businesses in more direct ways. The Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) has the objective of assisting Japanese business to expand and even monitors foreign competitors.¹⁶ In Japan, there are four major government organizations which are specifically designed to assist Japanese business. In addition to JETRO, there is the powerful M.I.T.I., the Japan Foreign Trade Council and the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Can we think of even one such government body in the U.S. which actively assists business and industry?

The United States, in contrast, has never considered trade to be one of its number one priorities, much less its number one priority. One of the major reasons for this is that the United States has a wealth of natural resources and is not really dependent (except for a few important items such as oil), on imports for its survival. And even these exceptions, such as oil, can be counted upon to exist due to its overpowering political and military position of influence in the world, neither of which Japan enjoys. Thus, there is no reason that the United States would ever have developed a crisis prevention mentality since it never has faced (and cannot therefore envision facing) a threat to its future survival. Japan has faced that threat in its history, most notably prior to World War Two when it

was beset by Western nations with a complete economic embargo, considered by Napoleon to constitute an act of war.

In short, the United States thinks like the grasshopper because it has never had to face the real threat of scarcity. Japan thinks like the ant because it has had to face the real threat of scarcity and has had the memory of that threat permanently burned on the face of its land. To think only in terms of short term profit for a Japanese company would be as strange as it would be for an American company to think in terms of deferred profit and the possibility of a greater share in the market over the very long term. To think in terms of quick turnover for a Japanese company would be to act as if there were no need to insure future survival. Such an attitude is unthinkable. The success of Japanese companies in taking over markets in competition with American companies can in large measure be traced to its crisis prevention mentality.

The Importance of Trade

Japan's emphasis upon international trade is a direct function of its basic feeling of insecurity in the world. The low priority given to trade in the United States is a function of its basic feeling of not needing the rest of the world in order to exist. If the rest of the world did not exist (or could not already be made to comply with one's wishes), there would be no untoward consequences. For Japan, if Japan were to be cut off from the rest of the world, there would be certain and unredeemable disaster. Japan's emphasis on becoming the world's number one in terms of commercial transactions has its roots in its recognition of its dependence upon the rest of the world and its realization that to obtain its free-

dom from such an insecure position it must reverse the situation and make the world dependent upon it. It has very nearly succeeded in such a task. What we have in the case of Japan is a case where crisis prevention management has been polished to the point of perfection. It has reached such a sophistication in virtue of the accomplishment of its aims (of making the world dependent upon it) that it has virtually wiped out the possibility of the occurrence of disaster. The effectiveness of its policy can be noted from both the success of its economic policies and the comparative absence of crises or disasters involving Japanese companies.

The one notable example of a disaster that did occur involving a Japanese company concerns the case of Ataka, a giant trading company which collapsed due ostensibly to overinvestment in a high risk Canadian oil refinery. It is most interesting to note that the response to Ataka was not to save the company (as with Lockheed, etc.), but was to sacrifice the company. What was of utmost importance was not the survival of this one company (at the price of economic inefficiency) but of the economic situation of Japan. In this case, the company was sacrificed. This was an act unheard of in the West (which is not particularly crisis prevention orientated) but which was second nature in Japan where the idea of crisis prevention is to take an action which is most likely to prevent crisis or disaster for the nation as a whole, which is to sacrifice an economically inefficient unit. For the West, which thinks only in terms of the survival of the unit, the recourse (as in the case of Lockheed, Chrysler, etc.) was to keep the economically inefficient company afloat at all costs.¹⁷ And the resultant answer is, of course, that the country pays the costs.

In the West we have the spectacle of individual companies, like Goliaths, fighting against each other, and sometimes against the interests of the nation as a whole, for their individual survival. It is like a nation of grasshoppers, all of whom are interested only in their own individual survival. In Japan, we have the contrary spectacle of companies, in fierce competition with each other, to be sure, but nonetheless linked by the common concept that each company needs the other (or some others) for its own survival and that the survival of all the companies, more than anything else, needs the existence of foreign trade. Such a mentality is virtually unthinkable in the United States which prides itself on a mentality that considers itself invincible and independent.

Contrast, for example the national symbol of the United States with that of Japan. The national symbol of the United States is the eagle, independent and existing in virtual isolation from the rest of the world. The national symbol of Japan is the sun, which derives its status and significance from being the source of light and heat of the entire world. The eagle derives its status and significance from its ability to live aloof from the rest of the world entering into it as it suits its pleasure. The sun would have no particular status and significance as an isolated phenomenon. It is its relation to the rest of the world that makes it important. The rest of the world is dependent upon the sun. None of the world is dependent upon the eagle. We may not carry this example too far but it is of interest to note that a national symbol does express the psychology of a country and acts to reinforce that psychology. And Japan's symbol does express its felt connection with the world and the ultimate dependence of the world on it rather than vice-versa. Of course, in

actual fact, in terms of natural resources, Japan is dependent upon the world and not vice-versa. But the entire point of the trade policy appears to be to reverse this phenomenon and in fact to attempt to permanently insure its reversal. It may seem to be too facile to attribute the enormous success of Japan to crisis prevention management, but we should not make light of the fact that Japan, of all nations, is acutely conscious of its dependence upon the rest of the world and the need, therefore, to insure its supremacy, of reversing this situation of dependence.

Some authors have also suggested fierce Japanese pride as an accompaniment to the fear mentality as another contributing factor and we should not ignore this factor. However, pride is not exclusive to Japan and Americans also have the self-concept that they are better than anyone else. The difference comes from the fact that coupled with a strong national sense of pride, the Japanese also have a fear mentality, a fear mentality which is wedded closely to the concept that Japan needs the rest of the world to survive. The point is perhaps most dramatically illustrated in the story of the Japan Olympics of 1964 which many Japanese point to as the event which started Japan's economic miracle. While the connections between hosting an Olympics and the start of Japan's economic miracles might appear fairly tenuous to a non-crisis prevention mentality, to the Japanese it is quite clear. The Japanese were very anxious to impress upon the West the extent of Japan's modernization. It was essentially an other directed mentality, concerned with the rest of the world, that was the motivating factor. The Tomei Expressway which leads in Tokyo and the fabled Shinkansen "bullet" trains came into being just at

that time. There was a strong pressure by the government to have them ready and the pressure was met by an eager response. It was not simply a matter of Japanese technology. The technology was borrowed elsewhere. It was not until 1980 that France caught up with its T.G.W. (Train a Grand Vitesse). But there was not the same motivation present in France.

When Mr. Goto, the former Chairman of the Japan Chamber of Trade and Industry was asked by the then Korean President Ghan Do Hwan, what was the reason for Japan's success, Mr. Goto cited both the Japan Olympics of 1964 and the World Exposition held at Osaka in 1970. The country was so single-mindedly behind such events that all the capacities of the latest technology were able to be actualized. Both the Tomei expressway, the great metropolitan express way around Tokyo and the bullet train, as mentioned above, were actualized for the event of the Olympics. The revolutionary bullet trains were in operation only 10 days before the games showing the power of THE MOTIVATION of a national goal.

As has been mentioned above, such motivation is supplied in part by the fact that the government is behind private industry in terms of providing goals for private industry to follow. But it must also be remembered that the people of Japan also solidly get behind their government to actualize such goals. While we can point to the importance of such concepts as loyalty to explain such massive efforts, in the back of it all is the crisis prevention mentality. When the then Korean President heard Mr. Goto's opinion, he immediately began a strong effort to hold the Seoul Olympics. This may mean that we will need to watch out for Korea, next. But Japan does not give up. In 1989, Nagoya held the World

Design Exposition. Osaka will host the World Exposition in 1990. In Japan, so it appears, the crisis prevention mentality prevails despite its current position of world leadership. In this paper, it has been suggested that the climate of communication that exists in Japan is a direct result of a country that sees itself in continual peril and therefore has evolved these attitudes and practises as a means not only for fending off but more so for making the conditions of a future disaster as impossible to exist as possible. This is as close as is possible to find the existence of a positive external version of a crisis prevention management system. The success of the positive version makes the need for a negative version (the implementation of a crisis intervention set of procedures) less crucial, though not for that reason unwarranted. We should not lose sight of the fact that crisis prevention management also works in the direction of preventing financial disasters from occurring. In the case of Japan, it is almost as if there is one mammoth monolithic crisis prevention policy at work. We can see it at work within individual companies and we can see it at work in terms of the practise of individual companies with respect to their international goals and practises. What is of special interest in the example of Japan is that the attitude of crisis prevention is a direct result of an acknowledgement of finiteness. While there are many other factors responsible for Japan's "miracle", the motivating force behind all of them can be seen to be the recognition that Japan needs the rest of the world in order to survive. And the way to make sure that it can have the rest of the world is to make conditions such that the rest of the world needs Japan to survive.

As the world shrinks daily and the

international village becomes a reality, the lesson of Japan needs to be heeded by all nations. All nations are becoming increasingly interdependent. The lessons of crisis prevention management are lessons not only for individual companies but for nations as a whole to observe and to act upon. The real need for the future is to establish a climate of communication that exists not only within particular organizations but as a communication

climate for the world as a whole. It will not be surprising that a chief source of the existence of this climate of communication will be the trade practises of the international companies of the world and the organizational lines of communications within and between commercial companies may become models for our lines of communication between and among nations of the world.

Footnotes

¹ While it is not probable that many would doubt that Japan has now assumed the number one economic position in the world, some figures to attest to this fact can be found in *Japan 1989, An International Comparison*, (ed.) Yoichi Anzai, Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs, 1988. The comparison is interesting. For example, in 1986 the U.S.A. produced 7,829 units of cars (1,000 per unit) and Japan produced 7,099. In 1987, Japan produced 7,891 to 7,099 in the U.S. (p. 22). The 1987 *Fortune* ranking of Japanese Commercial Banks had Japanese banks take the first six places and eight out of the first 10. (p.30). According to the March/April, 1989 issue of the *Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry*, Japan's per capita GDP averaged \$19,547 in the calendar year 1987 compared to the U.S. equivalent of \$18,186. More importantly, The Japanese figure was the highest among the Group of Seven (G-7), major industrial democracies. And, finally, with U.S. assets at the end of 1987 estimated roughly at 400 trillion Yen, Japan's land now has a paper value four times that of the entire United States. (Cf., *Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry*, (ed.) Yoshimichi Hori, p. 62. Of course, the meaning of these statistics can be disputed. For example O.E.C.D. argues that adjusted G.D.P. of Japan to allow for real purchasing power would make Japan's per capita G.D.P. less than that of the United States. But while the meaning of the statistics can be disputed, they still retain meaning as significant economic measures.

² There is a growing body of management literature that focuses on the cause or causes of the Japanese economic miracle. Michio Mishima provides an excellent example in his *Why has Japan 'succeeded'?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1982. Ezra F. Vogel's, *Japan as No. 1* Tokyo: Charles F. Tuttle, Co.), 1980, 1985 considers Japan as number one in a great number of areas and not only the economic one.

³ Mark Zimmerman, *Dealing with the Japanese* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), 1985, p. 193.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵ Toshiro Hiromoto, "Another Hidden Edge — Japanese Management Accounting," *Harvard Business Review*, July-August, 1988 p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ Cf., M.Y. Yoshino, *Japan's Managerial System, Tradition and Innovation* (Cambridge: The MIT Press), 1976, p. 29.

⁸ Reiko Niimi, "The Problem of Food Security," in *Japan's Economic Security* (ed. Nobutoshi Akao), (Hampshire: Gower Publishing Company, Limited, p. 174.

⁹Nobutoshi Akao, 'Resources and Japan's security,' *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹Zimmerman, p. 153.

¹²Zimmerman, p. 155.

¹³Zimmerman, p. 142.

¹⁴Vogel, *Japan as No. 1*, p. 145.

¹⁵Peter F. Drucker, 'Economic Realities and Enterprise Strategy, in *Modern Japanese Organization and Decision Making*, Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1975, p. 233. Although it has nothing to do with "Japan, Inc.," another feature that gives Japanese companies abroad more flexibility and hence more of a competitive edge is the bonus system. By the use of the bonus to make up as much as 50% of an employee's salary, the company can utilize salary as a variable cost instead of a fixed overhead. This will give Japanese companies more staying power in the market during slack years.

¹⁶Zimmerman, p. 157. There is also the possibility that the very existence of Japan, Inc. while forestalling financial crises for businesses can work to cover up cases of corruption that can occur. Cf. Jon Woronoff, *Inside Japan, Inc.*, Tokyo: Lotus Press, 1982 and Susan J. Pharr and Joseph L. Badaracco, Jr., 'Coping with Crisis: Environmental Regulation,' in *America Versus Japan* (ed) Thomas K. McGraw, Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1986, pp. 229-259. The issue which is raised by these authors is that adversarial relations may be a better structure for dealing with ethical issues. This does not, however, affect the notion of averting financial crises.

¹⁷Zimmerman, p. 180.

A Historical Perspective on the Adaption and Addiction of Western Technology and Its Transfer in Micronesia

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf

Today the island groups of Micronesia, especially those within the "American flag areas" of the region: the Marshalls, Marianas, and Carolines, are recognized as being the most developed and affluent in the entire Pacific. *Per capita* income in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands has exceeded \$5,000 *per annum*.¹ In 1986 the United States, which was the administering authority for the United Nations under a Trusteeship Agreement, unilaterally declared the Trusteeship ended and the new freely-associated states of Micronesia became autonomous and self-governing as (1) The Federated States of Micronesia, formerly the districts of Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae, and (2) The Republic of the Marshall Islands, formerly the Marshalls district. The (3) Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas assumed its own local governance, and (4) the Republic of Palau, formerly the Palau district, remained under Trust Territory jurisdiction because of disharmonies with its constitution and its proposed compact of free association with the United States. Under the Compact Agreements with the United States, this combined area of Micronesia with its new political states receives in excess of \$1 billion over a ten year period.²

There has been a good deal of criticism of the American tutelage since WWII

in Micronesia, both from the Micronesians themselves as well as from many other quarters.³ Although definitive scientific evaluations of the American performance will undoubtedly need more historical space, there are some questions which might be considered now in light of the new states' embarkation of autonomous status after more than three hundred years of colonialization. The colonial history in Micronesia has been one of almost continuous exploitation. It has also been one of gradual but unwaivering change through the introduction of western technology in its broadest sense: the use of tools and implements, as well as new and different attitudes and values. How well has this technological introduction gone? Have the Micronesians embraced or rejected the new technologies? To what extent has the technology brought change to the region? We can attempt an answer to these and related questions by a proscribed consideration of the modern history of Micronesia.

Prior to outside contact Micronesians used primitive technologies suited to their island habitats in which they lived in a state of near perfect harmony. Western technology was violently introduced to Micronesians, but the attendant ways of living and thinking have come more slowly. When Magellan visited the Mar-

iana Islands in 1521 his chronicler, Pigafetta, recorded how the Chamorros tried to steal all they could get their hands on, and how Magellan directed his crossbows to be used against them:

When any of the natives were wounded with our crossbows' shafts, which passed completely through their loins from one side to the other, they, looking at it, pulled on the shaft, now on this, now on that side, and withdrew it out with great astonishment, and so died.⁴

Shortly afterwards, Magellan and his crew weighed anchor and sailed westward, naming the islands "Los Ladrones," or islands of thieves.

In 1565, Miquel Lopez de Legaspi was sent by Luis de Velasco, the second Viceroy of New Spain, from Natividad, Mexico, to claim the Marianas. He held a ceremony on Guam, taking possession of the islands for Spain. Guam was occasionally visited subsequently by Spanish galleons that stopped for supplies and to drop off Spanish technology. The first priest to minister to the Chamorros was an unknown Franciscan who came to Guam for a year in 1596. He initiated a new religion: Christianity. In 1668, Father Deigo Luis de Sanvitores, a Jesuit, started a colony on Guam and spread the Catholic faith until he was killed by protesting Chamorros in 1672. Sanvitores was the principal figure in the early development of education on Guam. Due to its size and strategic location, Guam became the educational, as well as military and religious center for Micronesia until Spain lost the island to the United States in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War.⁵

Between 1680 and 1696, Don Jose Quiroga was three times governor of the Marianas, and he subdued the rebellious

Chamorros, some of whom were later installed in minor official positions, like that of *gobernadorcillo*. Many adopted Spanish trades such as sewing, spinning, weaving, and tanning. They also took to wearing Spanish clothes and studying a Spanish curriculum in school. All of these features should not only be regarded as culture, but also as a way of living germane to developing a western technology in the area, albeit one that lagged far behind developments in Europe.

The introduction of firearms in the Marianas by the Spanish and in the Carolines and Marshalls by traders and whalers from other countries throughout the nineteenth century changed the balance of political power among a variety of districts and villages in Micronesia. Different societies emerged as a result. Before Palau in the Western Carolines became a hotly contested Spanish possession in 1885, an ethnographer, Johann Kubary, visited the group and made this observation on how life was changing for the worse as a result of western culture and technology:

A time of peace existed for a long time between the village of Melekeck and Koror, and the chief of a men's club of Melekeek, a young man who had distinguished himself by bravery, made considerable demands on the attention of the people of Koror. A chief of Koror then challenged him to come over to them if he was so bold. The latter sent the reply that he would come, and came soon after on one night to take a head of one of the Koror people. The man of Koror recognized then his courage and saw him as a friend. Unfortunately, the two friends never saw each other, for the Koror warrior died during an outbreak of influenza. Nevertheless, the friend took a bundle of mats and went to village of Airai on the Koror frontier,

and sent a shroud for the funeral. High payment for the mats of his dead cousin. Traits of this kind, recalling the old Greek heroic epoch, are found among the people of Palau, as among other peoples of the South Seas. But they soon disappear on feeling the breath of our civilization.⁶

Here Kubary's insight reveals the fragility of the more refined aspects of life in Micronesia. It shows that these aspects are precisely the ones to disappear in the face of new technology and culture, although we regard them in the modern day as the most worthwhile ones.

As contacts with the west increased and trading began, beachcombers came and established small trading centers on some islands in Micronesia. These trading centers have evolved into urban-like district towns that serve as the *loci* of modern Micronesia. Spanish, British, German, and Japanese traders came in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷ But even these early beginnings of trade in Micronesia saw the founding of habits and procedures which were uniquely Micronesian. They were not merely transplants of the trade technology of the outsiders:

While in many parts of the Pacific the islanders conducted elaborate and extensive trading operations, none of these transactions required any large, *entrepot* center. Transaction were regulated through kinship ties or long established trading relations. Goods were collected together under the guidance of a chief and loaded into canoes. No permanent storage or harbor facilities were needed and at the other end of the trading voyage where the bartering was carried out, similar conditions prevailed.⁸

What we begin to see with the growth of trade and the continuous infusion of

west technologies, is an inadvertant, but nevertheless real, adaption on the part of the Micronesians to have the introduced technologies accommodate the local customs and culture. Its appears that in every case the Micronesians controlled the adaptation and development of appropriate technologies, or else the islands' physical environment posed limitations:

In the Palau Islands the development of a beach community was prohibited by the chiefs in power. Similarly on Ponape, the more numerous foreigners were divided among the various tribes. Only on Kusaie in the Eastern Carolines had a beach community appear for a short time during the height of whaling activity. . . . But its size and significance were severely restricted by the scarcity of provisioning resources, difficulties of egress from the harbor, and the unpredictability of the islanders' attitudes towards the foreigners.⁹

Nor were the islanders the only ones to adapt in Micronesia. The traders and other outsiders did as well. Undoubtedly, the most famous case of this happening was with the self-styled American adventure, D. D. O'Keefe, who came to Yap in the last part of the nineteenth century and established himself in a position of a dominance in the copra trade. He accomplished this by promising to transport Yapese *rai* — the large aragonite stone discs used a traditional money on Yap — from Palau where they were quarried, on his ships. The Yapese allowed him a copra monopoly in exchange for this service. Thus, the Yapese no longer had to make the dangerous journey to Palau by canoe to get their prized *rai*. This resulted in a continuing devaluation of traditional stone money in Yap, and eventually the practice of making it died

out. When the Germans came to Micronesia in 1899 and began their own trading operations, they forced O'keefe out.¹⁰

Technological advances proceeded more rapidly in Micronesia under the Germans from 1899 to 1914. Their main economic interest was copra, then known as "Micronesian gold." They set to their task with enthusiasm, and made extensive experiments in agriculture, including the scientific testing of coconut strains, Manila hemp, and coffee. They also purahcased any lands they regarded as lucrative for coconut plantations or phosphate mining. The records show that they bought more than 5,662 hectares from the Micronesians at about ten marks per hectare.¹¹ The German technology of administration was resisted by the Micronesians, most notably at Pohnpei in the Eastern Carolines where, in 1910, violent resistance broke out in protest against German work organization which they were forcing upon the Pohnpeiians. The disturbance, which was vigorously put down by the Germans, is known and remembered as the Sokehs Rebellion.¹² Even aside from this Micronesian resistance, the Germans never realized profitable returns on their investments. The largest German company, the *Jaluit Gesellschaft*, dealing in copra, made 302,827.00 marks (\$75,457.00) in 1912, the year of the highest copra production. Besides reluctant workers, poor crops, droughts, typhoons, and cochineal insects, plagued their ambitious agricultural efforts.

In October 1914, Japan seized Germany's Micronesian possessions and hurried up the pace of economic and technological development.¹³ The keystone industry was sugar-raising in the Marianas. With the revenues from this industry which employed less than one hundred

Micronesians, but thousands of imported Orientals, the Japanese civilian South Seas government became self-supporting after a couple of notable failures, by the end of the 1920s. By the mid-1930s sugar accounted for sixty-six *per cent* of the total colonial revenues. The largest Japanese companies were the *Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha* (South Seas development Company) which was engaged in sugar-raising, ice-making, and tuna fishing, and the *Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha* (South Seas Trading Company) which was engaged in shipping and retailing. Hence, from the Spanish beginnings to the end of the World War II, Micronesians were, with few exceptions, treated as mere adjuncts to technology. Some adaptations were made early on as has been noted, but as the Germans and then the Japanese came into the islands with comparative massive economic demonstrations, the islanders were left out or put aside. They were there to do common labor for the foreign companies that enriched non-Micronesians, or to run machines, or to prepare land for crops, and to fish for the good of the foreigner. They were hardly ever given the necessary training to take control of the necessary technology and make it work for them. This was only done in certain vocational fields, such as tanning under the Spanish and carpentry under the Japanese, and then only from the operational side, never as managerial personnel.¹⁴

The historical experience of the introduction of technologies from the west in Micronesia suggests that while such infusion of new things is done on a small scale over a longer period of time, appropriate adaptations are made by both Micronesians and outsiders. This was the case with traders and beachcombers who established footholds and small centers of

activity prior to the emplanting of administrative authority, particularly by the Germans and later the Japanese. All areas of activity, including missionary work, seemed to adequately covered by this observation. Of course the missionaries, especially the Protestants who came to the Eastern Carolines and the Marshalls in the nineteenth century, also brought trade good with them. O'Brien (1978) has observed that islanders "always bent the missionaries to their own purposes."¹⁵ Ralston (1978), has also pointed out that the beachcombers and early traders showed the Micronesians how to use new tools and firearms, and to take care of them. These skills the islanders learned to do by themselves rather quickly, but foreigners with such abilities were always needed by the Micronesians and were well taken care of in return.¹⁶

It appears that before the German administration in Micronesia, there had developed a symbiotic relationship between Micronesians and foreigners. The islanders wanted the new goods and technologies and were able to get them and adapt them on their own terms, probably owing to the fact that the islanders were in the overwhelming majority and could control the outsiders. Control enabled comfortable adaptability from a technological point of view. Stated otherwise, the symbiosis enabled Micronesians to become active participants in the transfer of technology, and the foreigners to be willing collaborators in the transfer because they received thing, like trading capability, in return. The arrival of the Germans and Japanese brought rapid change and the Micronesians were unable to control or assimilate it fast enough.

During the latter part of the Japanese administration there were over 50,000

Japanese in the islands and only about 30,000 Micronesians. This national takeover on the part of the Japanese prevented the smooth transfer of technology. Japanese policy excluded Micronesians from participation anyway; they were to be "Japanized." One prominent Micronesian today asserts that the Japanese "wanted to make slaves out of us."¹⁷

The plight of the Micronesians being excluded from participation in business and commerce began to change under American control of the islands. During the U.S. Naval administration from 1944 to 1951, the U.S. naval governors were most eager that Microneisans benefit most from any social and economic changes. The first detailed statement of this aim was made by Admiral Spruance in 1945:

Indiscriminate exploitation of the meager natural resources of this area is to be avoided. Trade and industry should be encouraged along lines which directly benefit the native inhabitants by providing for their physical needs and material well-being and which are of a nature and on a scale such that the ultimate ownership and management can be transferred to native hands. The establishment for the profit of aliens of enterprises which tend to maintain the native economy at the level of cheap labor and those which do not permit the natives to enjoy the full benefits of their labor and enterprise shall not be tolerated.¹⁸

This statement has set the tone for U.S. policy ever since. Although interest in and appropriations for Micronesian was relatively low during the years 1944-1962, the interests of the development of the people was benevolent and subscribed to the modern precepts of human rights. Neglect on America's part in these early years came from three factors: (1) the low amount of administrative appropria-

tions — only up to \$7 million a year, and (2) the overriding military interest which resulted in the dissipation of land in the Marshall Islands due to the testing of thermo-nuclear devices between 1946 and 1953, and (3) the establishment of a CIA training center at Saipan.¹⁹

In 1962 the policy was reemphasized and the budget ceiling was raised to over \$20 million.²⁰ Besides these two examples of what might be termed "military activity" in the area, Micronesia was important to the United States because of its strategic location and had to be denied access by other powers. Hanson W. Baldwin, a U.S. government advisor on strategic matters, stated the American position in 1970, and, essentially, it still applies:

To the north of Australia and squarely athwart the maritime and air parrouches to the East and South China Sea lie the so-called Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands — the former Japanese mandated islands-where so much American blood was spilled in World War II. These tropical dots of land . . . can provide both barriers and bases for any Pacific strategy.²¹

Following the 1962 increase in the budget ceiling for the Trust Territory and the attending reemphasis on human resources development, President Kennedy appointed a commission to study ways to bring the Micronesian islands more closely into the American political sphere, and to make recommendations for the expansion of development. The commission was headed by Anthony J. Solomon of the Treasury Department, and its report, which was submitted to the President in October 1963, has come to be known as the "Solomon Report."²² The rapid acceleration of growth rates and development capacity through the

establishment of physical and social infrastructure were among the commission's recommendations contained in three sections of the reports. Regarding education, it was recommended that the school system in the islands be improved, that college scholarships be offered by the U.S., and that Peace Corps Volunteers be assigned to Micronesia to work in various development programs throughout the islands²³

While the Solomon report was never taken as the policy in Micronesia, some of the recommendations contained in the report were implemented. Technological advancements, it seemed, were coming on strong in the islands. Micronesian participation politically and economically in the early 1960s was very small. The Congress of Micronesia had not yet been established, only a few small business were locally owned and run, and there were limited numbers of college graduates in the population, with some of these already having taken up permanent residence in the United States. The transfer of technology, the, took the form of massive economic demonstrations in education and infrastructure using government subsidies. Large numbers of American Peace Corps Volunteers came²⁴ and contract workers of all sorts were hired from the U.S., the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

During the first ten years of the accelerated growth and development politics (1962-72) external assistance had a tremendous effect. Gross Territorial Product (GTP) skyrocketed. U.S. appropriations during those ten years amounted to \$366,779,274 for an average of \$36,677,927 per year.²⁵ This represented an increase of some seven fold over the average expenditures for the 15 years preceding 1962. Capital construction,

which was almost totally financed by the United States, caused the ratio of investment to GTP to rise spectacularly from slightly more than 7% in 1960 to almost 67% in 1970. While there is no doubt that this infrastructure investment had an effect on productivity after it was put in place, no one really knows exactly what the effect was. No one has attempted to measure it as far as is known; and lastly, such an effect would be indirect. What has been clearer is that the infrastructure has caused the annual operating budgets to rise continually. Following 1972, the budgets averaged \$70 million for a few years, and went as high as \$170 million.²⁶ The rise in expense also caused a continuing wage-price spiral, and the economy in Micronesia has ever since been consistently high-wage in nature with consumption levels depending on more U.S. subsidies. Tourism has offered some hope for a better balance of payments picture but it is hard to see how much income this industry will generate for the islands.²⁷

What we see in Micronesia as far as the transfer of technology is concerned, is the imposition, especially since 1962, of a western value system in the use of technology, as well as a western vision of what the result of the technology transfer will look like. The transfer and infusion itself, furthermore, proceeded under the assumption that Micronesians would be passive recipients and not active participants who were sharing and negotiating in the transfer process:

It can be stated quite unequivocally that the masses of Micronesians are not only not concerned with the political future but also are not even aware of it as a question. They simply live in the present reality of the American time that has replaced the Japanese

time. The earlier German and Spanish times are dimly, if at all remembered.²⁸

The imposition, in recent years, of rapid and forced change, the introduction of new technologies, and the determination of new political arrangements with the United States, has created confusion, uncertainty, and dissent. David Hanlon makes a good argument that the western view of Pacific islanders as the child-like, noble savage, who passively suffers the fatal impact of European intrusion, still biases most critiques of foreign efforts to modernize and transfer technology into Micronesia.²⁹ From his review he concludes that the critics, although correctly pinpointing American blunders and shortcomings in program efforts, "fail to acknowledge Micronesians as participants, negotiators, and shapers of their own destiny. [They] regard Micronesians as little more than nebulous shadows falling lightly across a valuable piece of strategic property."³⁰

The consequence is that this view blinds such observers to understanding their own frustration and dismay with the pace and progress of technological transfer — or more generally, modernization — among Micronesians, in spite of America's best paternalistic measures and efforts. In turn, two alternative explanations open up: (1) a Marxist view which holds that the U.S. net effort is to fatally undermine development and intentionally succeed at a hidden goal of a dependent Micronesian welfare state; and, (2) an apologetic view that there must be some dysfunctional cultural or social trait among the Micronesians themselves which prevents development.³¹ Lack of future orientation, indifferent passivity, or obstructive extended family systems, are example of such disfunction. Hanlon explains that

Micronesians compensate for the insensitive intrusions of technology through an adaption:

In the act of borrowing or adopting, there also occurs a transformation or adapting. Western institutions undergo a change that makes them more compatible and more appropriate to the Micronesian cultural environment.³²

Although Hanlon is undoubtedly correct in saying that an adaption takes place in the transfer of technology, his statement nevertheless seems too functionalistic. Perhaps the thesis that in the acts of negotiations and struggle between the two socio-political groups — Micronesians and Americans — the acceptance of imposed institutions by the subordinates provides them with a capacity to shape the use of such institutions since they are participant actors with their own interests. While retaining much of the outward western form, such borrowed institutions undergo a change that makes them ineffective for purely western interests because of the on-going negotiation through joint participation. The adopted institutions will not be effective for purely Micronesian interests either, since as a group they remain subordinate actors in the course of events. However, a benefit to this phenomena is that it thwarts unchecked foreign domination and the manifestation of purely western interests or lifestyle. Hence, the Micronesians remain partial shapers of their future even if the outcome does not match anyone's ideal preference.

Let us now consider the role that education has played in this transfer process, and particularly higher education which has been a development during the American times and which has been especially significant in the years since

1962. Education may be considered "software" in the process of technology transfer. As a metaphore, it is likened to instructions, or software, given a computer to perform a certain function. In this way education can be seen as socializing or giving instructions to the Micronesian populace as a means for using new technologies. It is a long, gradual process, which, in the case of college educations for Micronesians, has only begun during the American administration.

Francis X. Hezel of the Micronesian Seminar at Turk, has done research on the rapid growth in postsecondary educational participation, which he terms the "education explosion" in that Micronesian state. Data which he collected in the mid-1970s to illustrate the rapid growth of college attendance is of special interest here:

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRUKESE IN
COLLEGE IN SELECTED YEARS³³

1966	1970	1974	1978
38	49	237	660

Similar trends exist in the other new states of Micronesia. The research for the explosion had to do with the availability of government scholarships which were provided by the U.S. in order for Micronesians to attend college.

By the late 1970s the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam conducted a study of degree completion among the Micronesian students as a partial effort in evaluating the effects of the massive scholarship program. The study found that the rate of dropout among the Micronesians students (from a sample taken at Kosrae and Pohnpei) was roughly equal — about 50%

— to that of college students in the United States.³⁴ The study also found that the advantages to going to college were real in Micronesia:

The study found that college attendance and graduation has not given an edge to these persons in the salaried job market over those who only graduated from high school. However, significant differences were found in the incomes and types of jobs. Among those employed, high school graduates who did not attend college were concentrated in manual-skilled jobs (31%) and administrative jobs (35%). This wide gap in occupational are necessary or the only criteria for employment positions. But those who graduated from college are clearly concentrated in prestigious professional jobs (57%). It can be said that those who attended college but did not graduate fared better than those who only graduated from high school. One third of those not completing a college degree were employed in professional jobs, yet 23% were also in manual skilled positions compared to only 9% of those who completed some type of college degree.³⁵

The study showed that attendance at college, even if one did not complete a degree, was a real advantage, and was also creating a new class of Micronesians. Germaine to our study here, the college attendance resulted in the creation of this new class which can said to be an adaption of the professional college graduate classes which would be found in the United States and other highly developed countries. While higher education is indeed a kind of software in technology transfer and modernization, it does not have the carbon-copy effects which some American administrators and planners may have envisioned for Micronesians. The study further showed that college

graduates in Micronesia sought to obtain government jobs rather than to established themselves in the private sector.

A growing unemployment problem exists in Micronesia and some outside observers have pointed to this as a failure of the government to sufficiently encourage the private sector to develop. Some other observers have wondered why the Micronesians do not themselves take more risks in establishing the private sector as a hedge against continued unemployment. Here again, this situation is more evidence of an adaption to the modernization which has come so quickly in the islands. Most of the unemployment problems are expressed by Micronesian leaders as a "youth problem" and most of the population is under the age 25. Subsistence lifestyles in the islands enable a comfortable life for mature Micronesians and oftentimes a western-type of unemployment (definitionally) is not seen as applying to Micronesians.

Seventy per cent of the sample in some form of horticultural or fishing or handicraft activity of subsistence. One does not earn, or need for that matter, a substantial salaried income in order to provide for basic needs within these island economies.³⁶

Let us return now to consider the questions posed at the beginning of this discussion. What can be seen is that the transfer of technology in Micronesia occurs most effectively and smoothly when the Micronesians are recognized as active participants in the transfer process, and not viewed as mere passive recipients. The historical experience clearly demonstrates this. It can also be seen that massive infusions of labor and capital from the outside — which began with the

Germans, increased with the Japanese, and continued with the Americans — has not had the effects and results which the imposers thought it would. Moreover, there has been an attempt to explain why the large infusions of labor and capital have not worked well and how the Micronesians have adapted to the rapid change. The cultural values of Micronesians and the age-old prescriptions and habits which they have taken from their environment have provided a counter-vailing power and influence which result in an adaption to modernization where in not only do the elements of transfer become modified, but the adaptations themselves become somewhat less effective than perhaps even the Micronesians themselves would want.

Investigations now being undertaken at the Micronesian Area Research Center on the migration patterns of Micronesians from the new states of the region show that there is a significant move from the new states to Guam.³⁷ In 1990, enclaves of Micronesians from the states of Palau, Truk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae are the most prominent, and these are forming organized sub-cultures within the Guam society.

An appropriate model and approach to the introduction of technology in Micronesia has yet to be developed and implemented. But the steps to be taken in such development involve first a consideration of the historical experience and an understanding of the Micronesian culture.

NOTES

¹*Pacific Daily News*, 17 February 1990, page 3; see also: U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Territorial and International Affairs, Washington, D.C.

²Interior Dept., *Ibid*.

³For a listing of critics and criticisms see: Dirk A. Ballendorf, "Interpreting the Cultures of Micronesia," in *Conference Proceedings*, "Critical Issues in Resource Management," U.S. National Park Service, Guam, April 1990.

⁴Antonio Pigafetta in H. E. J. Stanely, *First Voyage Around the World*. London: The Haklyut Society, 1874, p. 38-39.

⁵For a good account of Guam and its history see: Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, Vermont, Tuttle and Company, 1964.

⁶Kubary, Johann S., *Ethnographische Beitrage Zur Kenntnis der Karolinischen Inselgrupe und Nachbarschaft*. Heft I. *Die Socialen Einrichtungen der pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), 143-4 (translated into English in the Human Relations Area Files).

⁷Various accounts tell of the early trading activities in the islands. See: Alfred Tetens, *Among the Savages of the South Seas, Memoirs of Micronesia 1862-1868*, Translated by F.M. Spoehr. Stanford: University Press, 1958; Saul Riesenber, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968; John Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, New Haven, Ct: HRAF Press, 1970; Mark R. Peattie, *Nanyo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1895-1945*, UHawaii Press, 1988.

⁸Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century*, Honolulu: University Press, 1978, p. 45.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 48.

¹⁰W. H. Furness, *The Island of Stone Money*, Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1910.

- ¹¹D. A. Ballendorf, "Perplexity and a Propensity for Perseverance: German Administration in the Eastern Carolines, 1900 to 1910," *Pacifica*, v.1, n.2, September 1989, pp. 33-45, citing: *Deutsches Kolonialzeitung*, various years, in footnotes.
- ¹²For a description of the rebellion see: F. X. Hezel and M. L. Berg, eds., *Micronesia: Winds of change*, Saipan: Education Dept. TTPI, 1979.
- ¹³Peattie, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵Ilma O'Brien, *A Cultural History of Ponape*, 1978, Latrobe University, Australia (doctoral dissertation), unpublished.
- ¹⁶Ralston, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁷Roman Tmetuchel. Personal Interview, Koror, Palau, 9 July 1982.
- ¹⁸Hezel and Berg, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁹There is neither a definitive nor a comprehensive public account of the American CIA training center which was established at Saipan. Only journalistic accounts are available. The best of these is: Alfred Wooten, "The CIA Spy School at Saipan," *Glimpses*, 24 (84) 4, pp. 24-26.
- ²⁰Dirk A. Ballendorf, "Educational Development in Micronesia, 1945 to 1968," *Asian Culture Quarterly*, v.12, n.4, 1984, pp. 51-57.
- ²¹Hanson W. Baldwin, *Strategy for Tomorrow*, New York: Harper and Row, 1970, p. 279.
- ²²*The Solomon Report*. Section on Introduction and Summary MARC/UOG Pacific Collections, ref. on pp. S-16 and S-17.
- ²³Trust Territory *Annual Reports*, 1962-1972.
- ²⁴*Ibid.*, 1972-1981.
- ²⁵Dirk A. Ballendorf, "The New Freely-Associated States of Micronesia: Their Natural and Social Environmental Challenges," *GeoJournal*, v.16, n.2, 1988, pp. 137-142.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Ibid.*
- ²⁸*Solomon Report*, p. S-7.
- ²⁹David L. Hanlon, Myths, Strategies, and Guilt in Micronesia," *East West Perspectives*, Summer 1982, p. 23-27.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*
- ³¹See: A. Inkles, "Continuity and Change in the Inter-Action of the Personal and Sociocultural Systems," in *Stability and Social Change*, Boston: Little Brown, 1971.
- ³²Hanlon, *op. cit.*
- ³³Francis X. Hezel, S.J., "The Education Explosion in Truk", *Pacific Studies*, fall, 1980, BYU: Hawaii.
- ³⁴Randy Workman, et. al., *Study of Degree Completion Among Micronesian College Students*, MARC/UOG, 1981.
- ³⁵*Ibid.* p. 12-13.
- ³⁶*Ibid.* 13.
- ³⁷Donald H. Rubinstein, "Coming to America: Micronesian Newcomers in Guam," Paper delivered at the 11th Annual UOG College of Arts and Sciences Research Conference, 5 April 1990, copy at the Microneisan Area Research Center.

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An Outline of the Music of Two Early Periods in China

Lulu Chang

The first collection of Chinese song verse was the *Shi-jing* 詩經 or the "Book of Odes". This work consisted of three hundred and five folk songs and lyrical poems dated between the eleventh and fourth centuries B.C. This anthology of song-poems, compiled by Confucius (551-479 B.C.).

The same methodology of combining folk or popular tunes with verse and poetry is later seen in the collection of "Yue-fu" ballads 樂府詩 of the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). Yue fu 樂府 was the name of the Music Bureau established about 120 B.C. by Emperor Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (139-87 B.C.). The Bureau's function was to collect folk songs from different regions of the empire. Some of these song-poems were adapted to existing popular tunes. Others were given new melodies composed to fit the original texts. This vast wealth of song-poems had its sources in folk melodies, ritual hymns and popular songs.

The folk songs preserved since the time of the Six Dynasties (280-589 A.D.) and the imported popular tunes from central Asia inspired poets to create poems with the verse lines of varying length, necessary in order to fit the words to the musical phrase. As time passed, poetry and versification underwent a transition from artificial elegance to a language that was concrete and even

colloquial.

During the period from the fifth to the tenth century, the Tung Huang 敦煌 cave-temples along the Silk Road were utilized for artistic expression. Artisans, pilgrims and merchants carved chambers within the caves. They covered the walls and ceilings with frescoes and paintings and filled the grottoes with statues of dancers, musicians, courtiers, Buddhas and attendants. One of these caves, discovered early in the twentieth century, the so called Macao Cave 莫高窟 or "Thousand Buddha Cave", yielded scrolls of scriptures, song-poems, instruments, costumes and ancient music manuscripts.

The influence of foreign songs widened the scope of melodies and tunes available for new song-poems. During this intervening time the practice of court musicians and entertainers of fitting new words to their songs resulted in the development of another literary genre, the "Tzu", 詞 or words sung to musical accompaniment. The rules that governed the versification of the Tzu were above all "musical", i.e. the order in which different tonal accents succeeded one another and the scheme of its rhyme were all attuned to the melody. Consequently, the title of the Tzu poem was often an indication of the source of its melody. With music as the essential part of its structure, the writing of Tzu began during

the late Tang period, i.e. the eighth century A.D., and reached its height during the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.).

**Music Culture in the
Hsia 夏 (2205-1766 B.C.)
Shang 商 (1766-1122 B.C.)
& Chou 周 (1122--22 B.C.) Dynasty**

During the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties, singing and dancing played important roles in society. At the imperial courts all sacrificial ceremonies were accompanied by music. There were songs praising the sovereigns and military bands performing music to glorify them. In the grand festivals dancing of various types usually accompanied the musical performances. There were miscellaneous performance pieces called "san yue" 散樂 and music of the minority group known as "yi yue" 夷樂. The early period in the history of classical Chinese literature is the eight hundred years from the founding of the Western Chou dynasty in the eleventh century B.C. to the end of the third century B.C.

The ten stone drums of the Chou dynasty were important musical relics of the period. These drums were discovered in the early seventh century, half buried in the ground, on the south side of the Chi Shan hills in the province of Shansi. According to historical records this locality was the capital of Chou state around the twelfth century B.C. Emperor Chou Wen Wang had made the area a hunting park with an inscription signifying "Great Park". In 1119 A.D., when the Sung empire fled south, a hall was built in the new palace for the exhibition of the drums.

The inscriptions on the stone drums comprised a series of ten odes from the "Shi-ching" song-poems. These odes were

verses celebrating the imperial hunting and fishing expeditions. In the "Bamboo Book", and "Annals of Lu", it is recorded that, on the occasion of his return from a military expedition, the Chou Emperor Jeng-wang (1115-1079 B.C.) inscribed the drums. Later, in the Yuan dynasty, Kubla Khan moved the drums from the Song palace to his capital, the present-day Peking.

In the "Rites of Chou" 周禮 it was recorded that a special class of noblemen was trained to carry out the proper music rites. Formal music education included the understanding of song verse and dance performance, the chanting of verses, and the reading of poetry. All these disciplines were best expressed in the performance of "Song Dance of the Six Periods". The function of the Music Masters was to educate the court musicians in their proper duties.

The aesthetics of music included the teaching of psalms. In the official court entertainments the Chou dynasty court orchestra and dance groups followed strict rules of choreography such as eight, six, four, two in each group. More than seventy types of instruments made of gold, stone, silk, bamboo, clay, skin, etc. were in existence. A citation from the Chou Li 周禮 mentioned the establishment of the twelve equal pitches in the scale, each note with a given name, making six "major tones" and six "minor tones".

**The Spring and Autumn
Warring States Period
(475-221 B.C.)**

The Spring and Autumn Warring States Period formed part of the Eastern Chou Period (771-256 B.C.). The point of division is about 475 B.C. when the

growth in power of minor states led to the collapse of the Western Chou court at Luoyang. "The Spring and Autumn Annals" were the official record of events in the self governing state of Lu 魯. A recently discovered bronze bell ascribed to the state of Lu in central Shansi depicts events of the state.

The History Records of the Chou period include two important documents of early China: 1) "Shu-ching" 書經 a collection of historical documents of varying dates, covering a period from the twenty-fourth to the eighth century B.C. 2) "Shi-ching" 詩經 the earliest anthology of Chinese song-poems — mostly songs sung at entertainment events, during court ceremonies and at religious rites. These two classical books of antiquity collected and edited by Confucius in the fourth century B.C., are supplemented by various groups of inscriptions on ritual vessels and musical instruments which records sacrifices, offerings and major conquests. In the regional courts the Chou dances later became the banquet dances of the Warring States. Girls from the State of Cheng and their distinctive instruments were brought to perform in the court of Lu. Their entertainment was said to have elated the audience.

Among the items excavated since the 1950's were various musical artifacts belonging to the lords of different states. The carillon of nine bells discovered in Anhui province in the tomb of Lord Chou of Cai (518-491 B.C.) were hanging bells without clappers which had to be struck. They range from 16.6 cm to 28 cm in height. The most significant discovery was the sixty-five bell collection of 433 B.C. which is divided into three sections — upper, middle and lower tiers. The brass bells which covered five octaves are estimated to weigh five thousand kilograms.

They were rung by striking either the center or the undecorated bottom portions. They were capable of producing two different tones, a third apart, depending on whether they were struck at the rim or the center. This set of sixty-five "two-tone" bells was discovered in Hupei province in the tomb of the Lord of Cheng. Among other musical instruments found in the same room were two stone chimes, zithers, pipes and a drum. It is evident that music was recognized not only as a prominent feature in ritual ceremonies, but had become an important part of the entertainment of the courts during the Spring and Autumn Warring States Period.

Southern region industries manufactured bells that provided the transition between the ceremonial bells used in the Shang period and those on which ritual music was played in the Eastern Chou period. The small harness bells of Shang, usually in a graduated set of three, were mounted upwards in a wooden frame and struck by a hammer. The large bronze bells of Chou have handles to enable them to be hung obliquely. Often the handles were cast with decorative designs. The practice of casting bells with elaborate designs was introduced into the north from southern China during the Eastern Chou period.

Confucius the Musician (551-479 B.C.)

Confucius was born in the state of Lu (1) into a family enjoying aristocratic privileges. His philosophy, embodying ideals and values the Chinese people had held and cherished for generations, had a great impact on Chinese civilization. We have access to this philosophy in the "Analects" 論語 based on his students'

lecture notes. The Analects show an affectionate insight into the moods and sentiments of others.

As a young music student Confucius excelled in his performance of the *chin* 琴, and ancient Chinese zither with seven silk strings. After learning to play the instrument for only ten days, Confucius said to his Master, Hsiang-tze, "I have learned the tune, but have not yet understood the meaning." A few days later when the instructor suggested that it was time to move on, Confucius answered his Maestro, "I am just beginning to visualize a personality being defined by the music." Hearing these words, Hsiang-tze bowed to his ardent student and responded, "This piece of music, WEN-WANG TSAO 文王操 was composed in praise of Emperor Wen-Wang" of the Chou dynasty.

While Confucius was an official in the kingdom of Lu, the state of Chi 齊 sent a troop of dancers and "singing girls" there. The ministers and the elite spent three days and three nights with the entertainers, neglecting their duties. To show his disapproval Confucius left his native state of Lu.

In the "Analects" there are several instances where we read of his playing musical instruments. On one occasion it was stated that Confucius was playing the stone chimes when an old man passed by the door and made the comment: "How regrettable that you play those ringing chimes when there is no audience to appreciate them." But the Master's response was, "How set he in his ways, for he knows only the easy path." On various occasions Confucius showed preference between the different types of music. It was quoted in the Analects: "The song of Shao 韶 is beautiful in form and has positive influence promoting song and dance. But the song of Cheng 鄭, while

also beautiful in form, has negative influence invoking disturbing emotions." The music of Cheng consisted of love songs of the southern regions, mostly originating from the entertainment quarters and sung by the singing girls.

During the later days of Confucius' wanderings he sang and played the *qin* as always in spite of difficult times. One of his students ventured to ask him how he could go on singing when they were so hungry. He replied: "The wise man seeks music to strengthen his soul, and the thoughtless man uses it to smother his fears."

The founder of classical poetry in ancient China, Confucius collected an anthology of three hundred and five odes known as "Shi-ching". This collection of rhymed ballads with four words to a line is mostly folk songs of the Hsia (2205-1766 B.C.), Shang (1766-1122 B.C.) and Chou (1122-221 B.C.) dynasties. They are basically grouped under three categories:

- A) Ballads sung in the various feudal states: "Feng" 風
- B) Odes sung at entertainments and odes sung on grand occasions of the court: "Ya" 雅
- C) Songs sung at sacrificial ceremonies: "Song" 頌

These odes of "Shi-jing" provide valuable insights into the customs and beliefs of ancient China. In them, Confucius mentioned many early musical instrument — flutes, bells, drums and zithers. He was reputed to be the musical editor of the "Shi-ching". It was mentioned by the historian Szu-ma Chien (145-86 B.C.) in the "History of Records" 史記, that the "Master" sang the three hundred and five song-poems in the "Shi-

ching", accompanying himself on his *qin*. Confucius taught and often quoted from the *Shi-jing*". He found a hidden meaning and an appropriate moral to each of the odes in the collection. Through his efforts in teaching and singing the odes, "Shi-ching" gave rise to an extraordinary literary awareness in ancient Chinese society.

Toward the end of his life Confucius claimed that after returning to Lu in 484 B.C. "The music of Shi-ching was put in order. The *Ya* 雅 category (odes 161-262) and *Song* 頌 category (266-305) were each set in its proper mode." He told his son, "A man who does not know the Shi-ching is one who stands with his face to the wall". To his disciples he emphasized that "Shi-ching will stimulate your thought and teach you to make friends."

In the "Book of Rites" 禮記, it was stated that Confucius worked on the music of Shi-ching all his life. Whether at home or on the road, his *qin* was with him. "A scholar is never without the zither," he said. "He, among the gentlemen understands music and ethics through fellowship; what I say to you my fellow students, is like an anecdote."

Stemming from these Confucian ethics are frequent moral lessons in Chinese song-poems. This moral concern gave rise to the concept of poetic justice — the idea that virtue is rewarded and vice punished. It is evident that the song-poems which Confucius had chosen for this "Shi-ching" anthology are spontaneously and closely associated with the voices and feelings of the common people. He stated in the *Analects*: "The music played to the singing of the first ode in the Shi-ching is passionate without being sensual, and plaintive without being melancholy". Confucius' genius found expression in the structural type of think-

ing embodied in the performance of court ceremonial music. He stated that at the imperial ceremonies, music should include voice and instruments complementing each other in solos and ensembles. In parts of the "Analects" he worked out his thoughts with the "Music Directors" of the royal court and gradually molded his ideas about music into their ultimate form. "The aesthetic of a musical composition begins with an introductory theme, through which the development of the whole piece is envisaged. The increasing melodic and rhythmic effect lead to an ultimate triumph, an idealized climatic experience."

A great teacher, Confucius wanted to develop a feeling of responsibility in every individual. He believed that educated men, trained in music, poetry and ethics, were the backbone of a stable government. Because of these ideals Confucius spent many years travelling from state to state teaching his philosophy, now thought to have been put together in writing known as the "Classics". Through Confucius one also learns that early Chinese literature was rich in songs. After the lapse of many centuries the music of these odes was lost. A few were modified and recorded by court musicians of the later dynasties. It was not until the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-221 A.D.) that the Confucian Classics resumed a prominent place in Chinese society.

The "Shi-ching"

The "Shi-ching" or the "Book of Odes" is a collection of ancient folk songs, originating between the eleventh and the fifth centuries B.C. These songs were of folk origin representing the blending of vernacular motifs and expressions of human morality. Most of the

songs are related to courtship, marriage and ceremonial activities in communal festivals. They reflect a high degree of sophistication and a refinement of sensibilities. Also, they establish the earliest relationship between music and verse in ancient China — foreshadowing later works of the intelligentsia. The “Shi-ching” contribute to the understanding of musical antiquity in China.

The “Shi-ching” has been classified as one of the Five Confucian Classics. It represents an encyclopedia of literary quotations. From these verses scholars sought to discover analogies to illustrate their arguments. Like the English word “ode”, used as a general term to describe poetic composition accompanied by music, the Chinese term “Shi-ching” literally means “song scriptures”. The odes as we read them today have retained the original from which was popular with and familiar to the educated class of the Confucian age. When read, the verses seem more like music than poetry. In general many of the opening lines have a quasi-musical character and the final lines recapitulate them.

The original “Shi-ching” reflected various aspects of the lives of the people (1600-570 B.C.) during the Shang, Yin and Chou dynasties through the “Spring-Autumn” period. The Shi-ching manuscripts were all burned in 213 B.C. by order of Chin Shi Huang-ti 秦始皇帝 the tyrant emperor responsible for the construction of the Great Wall. The “Shi-ching” as we know it today was restored during the Han period (220 B.C.-206 A.D.) based on the memories of the scholar-officials of the Han Empire.

Later (484 B.C.-1840 A.D.) the manuscripts were published in the following chronological order:

Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)

“Mao Annotations of Shi-ching in Twenty volumes”, (484 B.C.) from “Mao Biographies”. Han: Mao heng zhuan. 漢毛亨傳

Song Dynasty (960 A.D.-1279 A.D.)

“Manuscript of ‘Feng’ and ‘Ya Songs’ in one volume”, (118 A.D.) Transcribed in the “Book of Rites” 禮記 and “Book of Changes” 易經 by Chao Yan-so. 趙彥肅

Yuan Dynasty (1206 A.D.-1368 A.D.)

“Six volumes of Se 瑟 Manuscript”, (collected in 1300 A.D.) by Hsiong Peng-lai. 熊朋來

Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D.-1644 A.D.)

- 1) “Visual manuscripts of Shi-ching” in nineteen volumes collected in 1536 A.D. by Lu han deng. 呂柟等
- 2) “Theory of Song Poems” in one volume edited in 1544 A.D. by Huang Ji-ching. 黃祝慶
- 3) “Original Rites in the Book of Music” in eight volumes collected in 1550 A.D. by Liu lian zhuan.
- 4) “Annotations of Musical Manuscripts” edited in 1606 A.D. by Prince Chu Chai-yu. 朱載堉
 - a) Complete volume of Music Theory.
 - b) Complete volume of Song Poems.
- 5) “Vocal Manuscript of Three Hundred Odes” in one volume, date uncertain, by Chang Wei-jan. 張蔚然

Ching Dynasty (1644 A.D.-1912 A.D.)

- 1) “Music Theory and Manuscripts of Shi-ching” in one volume (1788 A.D.) collected and edited during the Qian-long 乾隆 period.
- 2) “Study of Six Modes of Five Tones” in four volumes (1816 A.D.) by Chen Shi. 陳詩撰
- 3) “Song-Poems collection” (circa 1832

A.D.) by Xia Xin.

- 4) "Study in Tone Theory" in eight volumes (circa 1832 A.D.) by Chiu Chi-lu. 丘之樵
- 5) "Tonal Theory of Shi-ching" in eight volumes (circa 1840 A.D.) by Liu Yun-chi. 劉云吉

These poems were preserved mainly because they were used for various social and festive occasions of the court and served also to foster fellowship and harmony in ancient Chinese society. Most of the odes were collected from different regions of the Empire. Since these odes were gathered before the time of Confucius, Confucius was known to be the editor and teacher of the "Shi-ching". In editing the "Shi-ching", Confucius selected three hundred and five poems from more than three thousand. He made knowledge of the "Shi-ching" essential for every scholar-poet passing the imperial examination through which statesmanship was to be achieved.

The anthology of "Shi-ching" was circulated among the upper classes and quoted by those of great philosophical minds in spite of its folklorique simplicity and thematic diversity.

From their original version through the long process of refining, two styles of calligraphy survived in the original bamboo manuscripts and stone carvings. Based on historical facts, one was being transmitted orally and later copied by the slaves, using the "li-shu" 隸書 style of calligraphy. This was known as Jin Wen Shi-ching 今文詩經 or modern style calligraphy of the Han period. Another style of calligraphy has been discovered in the fragments inside the walls of Confucius' house and is known as Ku wen 古文體 or ancient style.

The Music of Shi-ching

Confucius gathered and compiled the three hundred and five surviving song-poems and used them as texts. In the book of Shi-ching there are two types of song texts:

- 1) "Collected song text" of various regions, e.g. songs of praise.
- 2) "Song-text for offering" as represented in the court songs.

There are also six pieces for woodwinds without text. They have been known as Sheng-Shi 笙詩 or musical excerpts for accompaniments and solo interludes. Unfortunately, these monophonic tunes of ancient times were only briefly mentioned in the history of Chinese music. They were seldom accorded the significance they deserve.

The main musical sections which make up the anthology of "Shi-ching" are:

- I. Feng 風 or airs;
- II. Ya 雅 refined or court music;
- III. Song 頌 or song of praise.

- I. Guo-feng literally means "songs of the empire", with the word "feng" designating a kind of short "air" or simple song. The text is often modified to suit the melodic line. The singers change the words to heighten the effect of the music. It is important to note that these "feng" songs are not folk melodies; rather they are tunes that originated at feudal courts. Frequently the original melody and words were refined and improved to impress the Grand Music Masters.

Many of the song-poems of the Feng section are attributed to the various feudal states and are subdivided into fifteen regions, including the present region of Shan-si 山西,

Honan 河南, Hopei 河北, Shantung 山東 and Hupei 湖北, i.e. the north-eastern area of present day China. These fifteen regional songs of Kuo-Feng represent an area of fifteen provinces and a total of one hundred sixty poems. Musically the "Feng" of each region represents a definite mode, such as the "Chin Feng" 秦風 or "Airs of Qin", the "Wei Feng" "Airs of Chin". The greater part of the Feng Airs are songs of courtship using love as the central theme. Other groups of Feng Airs reflect dissatisfaction with and protests directed to government.

The Kuo Feng odes take on various forms. Some are made up of songs varying in length from one to eight words, the most frequent length being four words. There is often no change from one strophe to another, only the synonyms varying.

- II. The second division, known as "Ya" section, is subdivided into "Ta-Ya" 大雅 or "Hsiao Ya" 小雅. The term "Ya" means "elegant" or "refined". The odes in this section are mostly short songs performed at banquets attended by the sovereign. This group of state songs is known as "Hsiao-Ya". The word "Hsiao" stands for "lesser" or "simple". Another type of song known as the "Ta-Ya" are performance pieces for important state occasions. The odes of the "Hsiao-Ya" section are lyrical whereas the "Ta-Ya" verses have a variety of rhymes of their own. The "Ta-Ya" themes are better developed and elaborated and thus contain a larger number of lines.

The "Ya" verses portray an artistic and delicate quality. Most of them repeat the last line of the

previous stanza for the first line of the following stanza. The "Hsiao-Ya" odes were composed at a later period than that of the "Ta-Ya" section. The "Ya" music was performed at official occasions while the "Hsiao-Ya" was played during banquets.

Another group of "Ya" sections are epic song-poems of the middle region. They relate the legends and events which highlight the history of the Chou people and their campaigns. The "Ta-Ya" epic poems were mostly recited to a drum accompaniment, and the melody and rhythm are very simple. The "Hsiao-Ya" epic poems deal with the work of farmers and shepherds and conflicts between families.

The odes of the "Ya" section were mostly identified with the elegant entertainment and court events of the ninth to the eighth centuries B.C. These songs of the Ya sections are subdivided into two sections on the basis of musical accompaniments. They totalled one hundred and eleven songs.

Since the Ya or court songs were sung to accompany the entertainment of the aristocracy at important state occasions, they became an integral part of the education of the gentry. In both the verses of the "Feng" and "Ya" there are elements of music and dance retained in the stanzas.

- III. The third division known as "Song" consists mostly of songs sung with group dancing on the occasion of the emperor's or the feudal lords' ancestral worship. Among this group of odes, there are also songs sung during the entertainment of the imperial household, covering miscellaneous subjects — moral, agricultural, etc.

For example the "Chou song" glorifies the splendor of the Chou culture, and the "Lu Song" 魯頌, praises Confucius' native state. The five "Shang Song" 商頌 or "Shang Ceremonial Dances" are known to be the oldest, followed by the thirty-two "Chou Song" 周頌 or "Chou Ceremonial Dances" sung as accompaniment to dances used in ancestor worship or other religious ceremonies. For several centuries musicians carried on the tradition of singing to the grandeur of their ancient kings. The Word "Song" 頌 signifies a dance-song performance and the text is the province of the scholarly. The "Song" are short odes without rhyme, often sung during ancestor worship or celebrations of good harvests.

The "Airs" of the "Song" section belonged to a later category, with some from as late as the sixth century B.C. Compared to the "Feng" and the "Ya" sections, the song-hymns of the Song section preserved more of the folk quality. The Song or sacrificial and temple songs, totalling forty songs, have been categorized on the basis of geographical origin.

Similarly in the "Song" section the hymns and temple songs were danced in sacrificial ceremonies. The beating of rhythm with the foot was another indication that rhythm, song and dance formed the musicality of the "Shi-ching" odes. For example, in the "Chou Song" 周頌 dated around the founding period of the Chou dynasty in the tenth century B.C., the dance-song performances represented one of the most unique elements of the odes. It was cited in the "Critical Analysis of Ancient History" by the author Ku Hsieh-Kang, that

"the odes were not only all recited, played on strings and sung" but "danced to". In the court procession they were all sung to musical accompaniments.

The Shi-ching" in the form it bears today was sung in its entirety at a music festival in the state of Lu in the year 544 B.C.

Some of the chanting of the "Shi-ching" scriptures may have originated from shamanistic chants performed as part of folk religion practiced by the people of the Yangtze region.

The importance of music culture during the period from the Western Chou to the Han dynasties (1100 B.C.-220 A.D.) influenced the relationship between the song and verse in the "Feng", "Ya", "Song" of the "Shi-ching" as previously mentioned.

The musical instruments used during this period may be classified into eight categories or "eight tones". They are:

- 1) Metal: such as bells. Single bells marked the rhythm. A line of little bells accompanied stone instruments.
- 2) Stone: a kind of stone chime which contained certain stones that rendered a smooth and harmonious sound.
- 3) Silks: as represented by the qin or zither with five strings or the Se with fifty strings of the same length in ancient times.
- 4) Bamboo: as in the family of flutes — closed at two extremities. The mouthpiece was in the middle, with three holes at each end of the mouthpiece.
- 5) Gourd: the mouth organ with 13, 15, 17 or 19 pipes of bamboo thrust downward into a gourd container.
- 6) Clay: wind instrument in the shape of

an egg pierced by six holes and one mouthpiece as in the vessel flute.

- 7) Skin: such as the big drum which gave the signal for commencement of singing, and the little one indicating the end.
- 8) Wood: wooden barrel struck with a hammer and played to begin the music.

There are many musical references in the "Shi-ching" which deal with the above names and types of instruments. From the oracle bone inscriptions of antiquity to the references of the "Shi-ching" odes, similar types of instruments were used as accompaniment.

In conclusion: the symbolism of the Shi-ching odes is grounded in music. Music is the very essence in which these song-poems exist. In all the songs the concept of human harmony, known as "musica humana", and its relation to the

"musica mundana", the universal harmony, is implicit. Dancing and song help to convey the thoughts and visions of human life. A knowledge of the odes enables us to observe accurately the innermost feelings of joy and discontent. Even though not all the odes were composed for singing, the rhyme schemes and the rhythms of the dances were all encompassed within the "song form".

Finally we may ask the questions "What is the Book of Shi-ching for?" and "What does it say?" It becomes clear that it is for singing and that the anthology was selected from three thousand songs fitted to existing folk tunes of different regions and used for popular songs or courtly dances. Each ode had a special effect and message to convey. And each retained traces of the purity and innocence of a world where music, dance and song combined into one poetic genre never to be found again in the later Chinese poetic tradition.

A Brief Historical Survey of Chinese Literature

Elizabeth Wang (王德箴)

In comparing the early Chinese literature with that of the West, one is surprised to find in the Chinese classics an absence of great epics such as the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* which brightened the pages of ancient Greek literature. The Chinese, being primarily a pragmatic people, had little interest in descriptions of spirits or monsters that fight hand in hand against human beings. A few songs of worship to supernatural phenomena were enough for the Chinese literatti. Chinese literature, like Chinese philosophy, centered on human affairs and feelings. The conception that literature is a vehicle to convey a lesson prevailed early in China. The traditional Chinese view toward a piece of good literary work was that it must possess some didactic and philosophical ideas for the benefit of society. Consequently, those who could write excellent expository essays were sought after as qualified to govern the people. "When you are well-learned," said Confucius, "then you are ready to serve office." So in Ancient China, a statesman was a scholar well-grounded in literature. Therefore, political theory, philosophical concept, and literary achievement were three in one. To understand this is to understand why Confucius and other philosophers such as Mencius,

Chungtze, and Hanfeitze of the late Chou dynasty (1122-256 B.C.) were all great essayists, and essay writing was regarded as of major importance since the Chou dynasty.

The only type of belles letters valued by the ancient Chinese was poetry, for poetry, as the Chinese defined it, expressed one's emotion and brings harmony to one's life. A good poem could accentuate one's grievance, but not to the point of anger and could reveal one's sadness, but not to the point of heartbreak. In other words, it is a work that shows moral restraint which is in accordance with the Chinese attitude of not overdoing.

As in most other countries, the history of Chinese literature starts with poetry. So the *Book of Songs* is the most important among the Five Classics. The other four are the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Changes*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The *Book of Songs* is a collection of 305 poems composed between 1,000 and 700 B.C. Confucius, it is said, had selected and edited the book. The poems were divided into three parts, namely: *Sung*, praise, which contains songs sung in connection with the sacrifices in the

temples; *Ya*, elegance, which contains courtly songs mostly of eulogy; and *Fung*, the wind, or the custom which contains poems from 15 states. It was the lyrics and love songs under the *Fung* that made the book valuable. Those poems, mostly are of simple style with recurrences and end rhymes such as:

Thick grows the plantain;
Here we go plucking it,
Thick grows the plantain;
Here we go gathering it.
translated by Arthur Waley

Two more stanzas follow.

Some are long narrative poems. The *Meng, A Man*, translated by H.A. Giles, serves as a good example. The poem runs:

A simple rustic you seemed,
Carrying cloth to barter for silk;
But you did not come to buy silk;
You came to plot for me . . .
"You've consulted the shell and the stalk,
And there is nothing inauspicious.
Come with your carriage
And carry me away and my goods," . . .
Alas, you women,
Do not dally with men!
When a man dallies,
He will still be excused;
But when a woman dallies,
No pardon will she have . . .
Since I came to you,
Three years I have eaten poverty . . .
The woman remains constant,
But the man has altered his ways:
He is lacking in faith
And changeable in his conduct.
Three years I was your wife,
I never tired of household chores.
Early I rose and late I went to sleep;
Not a morning was I without work.
First you found fault with me,
Then treated me with violence.

My brothers, not knowing this,
Jeered and laughed at me.
Quietly I brood over it
And myself I pity.
Together with you I was to grow old;
Old, it has made me wretched! . . .
You pledged solemnly your troth,
Little recking that it would be broken.
No, I never thought that it could be broken
And that this should be the end.

It is interesting to contrast that in European literature there is always a woman who forsakes a man, such as *Craisedy* does to *Triolus*, but in Chinese literature it is the reverse. The ungrateful girl referred to in Byron's "When we two parted" would have been a man in a Chinese poem.

The four-character poem in the *Book of Songs* was substituted in the Han dynasty (207 B.C.-220 A.D.) by a classical style of five characters in each line. The number of lines is unlimited but the last character of each even line must rhyme with the last character of other even lines.

Both the classical style and the style in the *Book of Songs* were called *Shih* in Chinese. Besides these, the Han dynasty was famous for a special kind of prosic poetry known as *Fu*, meaning spread. It was originated sometime during the warring states (403-221 B.C.) and was made a highlight by Chū Yuan's *Li Shou*, "Song of Sorrow," which has been rendered into English. It is a long poem with irregular length of lines and irregular number of characters in each line; but every odd line ends with a word *Hsi* which denoted an exclamation of a sigh. Chū Yuan¹ composed the poem before he drowned himself, so the sad tone of this kind of work is also called Chū Elegy, Chū, being the native town of Chū Yuan. When it came to Han, however, the *Fu* became a courtly song composed to

describe the capital, the royal garden, the beautiful consort, and so forth. It required such a rich vocabulary that one scholar spent ten years in producing three pieces². They were elaborate enough, but lacked true feeling in depth; so it did not exist long afterwards. It was still the classical style *Shih* that was popular during the succeeding Three Kingdoms the Tsin dynasty and the period of the Southern and Northern dynasties (420-589)

The great Tang dynasty (618-906) was the golden age of Chinese literature, for in that period, not only the "regulated poem" was invented and flourished, but also short stories came into being and the first theatre was established.

The "regulated poem," the pillar of Chinese *Shih*, contains either 4 lines or 8 lines, and within each line either 5 characters or 7 characters. The 4 line ones are called *Chuo Chu*, meaning Stop Short. The rhythm and rhyme scheme resemble those of the English ballads.

The 8-line poem is the one that lives up to its name as being regulated, for there is a rule in each line as to which character should be in even tone and which should be in uneven tone, and also a rule that a single rhyme is used for last characters of all even lines. The structure of the regulated poem consists of 4 pairs: the opening, the rising, the turning and the closing. In the second and the third pairs, the nature of each word in the odd line must be parallel to the nature of the word in the even line, that is a noun matches a noun, a verb matches a verb, etc.

The most outstanding poets of the Tang dynasty, are Li Po and Tu Fu. Poems written by both of them and many other poets have been translated into English.

Li Po (701-762) was called by the

Chinese a Fairy Poet for he was often intoxicated and wandered in the woods and mountains. He cared little for worldly fame and naturally would not be burdened by the superficial embellishments of the regulated poems. He was like an ethereal spirit, standing high in the clouds uttering some rhyming tones. His best known piece is "The Song of Wine" which is a long poem consisting of 7 characters in each line with irregular meter but regular end rhyme.

Tu Fu (712-770) on the contrary, was a serious-minded scholar who could not help concerning with the miserable life that fell on the people as a result of the rebellion of An Lu-shan. He broadened his love for the family into the country and wrote realistic poems reflecting the situation of that time, so he was called a Sage Poet. His well known pieces are the Three Partings and the Three Officers. The Three Partings are "parting during the honeymoon," "parting without a home," and "parting in the old age." The poems of Three Officers all describe cruelty of drafting the youngsters to war.

Fiction was a late production in the field of Chinese literature. The traditional prejudice defines fiction as gossip of common people on the streets, and therefore, scholars were not supposed to write it. The Chinese name for fiction in *Hsiao Shao*, meaning "small talks" but Confucius was kind enough to comment that "even trivial arts possess some merits." By merits, he meant that it ought to have influence on the conduct of the people. This explains the reason why a Chinese novel as well as a play usually has a happy ending, for only in this way can we see the virtuous rewarded and the villain punished.

As in English literature, Chinese fiction derived from epigram, anecdote or

fablieu. Simple plots were added gradually from the Southern and the Northern dynasties to the Tang when short stories suddenly became full fledged. The reason was that the Tang emperors were very liberal towards all religions and various types of literary work. Buddhism, which had been introduced into China in the beginning of the Christian era, furnished rich source for subject matters. 500 volumes of short stories are preserved in an anthology called *Tai-ping Miscellany*. The tales can be divided into 4 categories: those relating to the supernatural, those of romantic love, those of chivalry, and those of satire and humor. The love stories, of course, are the most interesting and the themes are somewhat like those of mediaeval romances. The only difference is that in European novels, a knight rescues a fair lady for himself, whereas some Chinese chivalrous persons rescue a beauty for their friends. Madam Willow, the first story in my book *Ladies of the Tang* which contains 22 short stories, is a good example.

The contribution of the Tang stories lies in their furnishing sources for poems, novels, and plays of later ages.

Drama met a worse fate than did fiction in Chinese literature. Though chorus dance, like that in Greece, is considered the origin of Chinese drama, China never has had great pieces that can be compared to the Greek tragedies. The first theater was not built until the reign of Emperor Ming (712-755) of the Tang. Enjoying the company of his beautiful concubine Yang, the emperor ordered a pear garden be set up to train boys to dance and sing with the girls in the inner court. No play was given, so this was not yet the beginning of drama in its strict sense, but, since, later on, dancing and singing were to become the most

important elements of the Chinese opera, the patronage of the emperor is remembered with gratitude and the name of Pear Garden is still used for opera houses today.

The first performance of a kind of farce mixed with song and dance took place in the reign of Emperor Chen (998-1028) of the Sung dynasty (960-1280). This dynasty was militarily weak, but rich in philosophical discourses and literature. The outstanding achievement of the Sung in the field of literature is the invention of a special type of poetry known as Tzu. This new type was created because the *Shih* had gradually lost its singing element and could only be read. Poets of the closing age of the Tang, in a mood of spontaneity, composed lyrics for girls to put into music. A title was given to each piece. As time went on, more songs were composed and titles became patterns for poets to write lines to fit to them. The Chinese call this kind of work *Tian Tzu*, meaning to fill out the words. The characteristics of Tzu are as follows:

1. Each pattern is conditioned by musical scores and tonal sequences.
2. Lines are of unequal length with prescribed rhyme schemes and tonal sequences.
3. Common words are used which made it easy for the common people to appreciate them.
4. Each piece has two stanzas.

The greatest Tzu writer in the Sung was Li Ching-chao, a talented poetess. She had a happy marriage and the couple often composed Tzu together. Her husband wishing to surpass her, put three lines of her Tzu into several of his own works and showed to a friend, asking him to choose the best lines. The three lines

picked by his friend were those written by Li. The three line run like this:

"Would it not be but a sad view,
When the west wind rolls up the screen,
there appears her
Slimmer than the chrysanthemum blossom"

Fiction was greatly developed during the Sung. The times were peaceful and the capital prosperous. There came to be a group of story-tellers who sat behind a table under the tiled roofs and narrated historical episodes. They used vernacular language, so that children and illiterate men could understand. This kind of story telling existed in China even after the Republic. Some stories were told in sequence, and the teller always stopped at an exciting point with the words "if you would like to know what happens next, please come again."

The Yuan dynasty (1280-1368) was the age of drama. In addition to the barbarian musical instruments such as pipa that has been brought to China from the west since the Han dynasty, there came in with the Mongols the big voices and rough actions that started the northern school of drama. Kuan Han-ching, the playwright, was considered the Aeschylus of China.

Later, toward the end of Yuan and throughout the Ming, (1368-1644) there flourished the southern drama which differed from the northern school in technique, and in other aspects. The following is the comparison of the two schools:

Northern School:

1. Each play consists of four acts
2. One person, usually the hero or the heroine, sings through the whole act.
3. Only one tune or one rhyme is used in the whole act.
4. The dominant instrument is the pipa

or lute.

Southern School:

1. A play may consist as many as 30 to 40 acts with a title to each scene.
2. There is no limitation to singing by one person. Solos, duets, or chorus singing are permissible.
3. There is no set pattern regarding rhyming scheme. Change of rhyme is allowed even within one scene.
4. Dominant musical instruments are the drum, and wooden clappers.

The northern drama has a prologue like that in a Greek play, but in southern drama there is a Kai Chang; "opening the scene," in which the master of ceremony provides the audience with a synopsis of the story.

This kind of drama with all the parts in singing resembles Shakespeare's plays.

Besides the songs for plays, there were also songs written merely for chanting. They were called *Chu* which differs from *Tzu* in that they have more flexibility of length of lines and the language is more colloquial. However, both *Chu* and *Tzu* did not enjoy long popularity. It is still *Shih* that dominates Chinese poetry.

The first two great novels produced in the Yuan, were the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "All Men are Brothers." The period of the three kingdoms was so short that it is better known because of this romance. In it many characters are so vividly portrayed that each forms a unique personality, for instance, we always say that one is as loyal as Kun Kung or that one is as cunning as Tsao Tsao.

"All Men are Brothers" describes a group of heroes who, disillusioned by the mal-administration of the closing age of the Sung, retreated to a high mountain. Like Robin Hood, they robbed the rich

and helped the poor. Many of the characters are historical figures.

The Ming dynasty, besides producing southern drama, was also known for novel writing. The best ones are Hsi Yu Chi, or "The Monkey" and Chin Ping Mei, the "Golden Vessel Plum Blossom." The former, basing its plot on the adventures of the pilgrimage to India by a Buddhist monk in the 7th century, created a monkey who possessed the supernatural power to transfigure into any kind of shape he liked and to turn somersaults that would span 108,000 Chinese Lis. The hidden meaning of the story might be that even a monkey knew the value of Buddhism and was willing to undergo all the dangers to accompany his master to go and fetch the sutras. It is an interesting novel, somewhat like *Gulliver's Travels*. The latter, "Golden Vessel Plum Blossom," is a salacious romance of one man involved with three women. Gold is the name of one woman, Vessel, that of another and Plum, that of the third. The book was deemed pornographic banned before the Republic. But now, under the influence of western realism, it has become well-known and is valued highly by some American scholars.

Novel writing continued to be popular in the Ching dynasty (1644-1911). The "Red Chamber Dream" has been so popular that there are scholars who called themselves Red Experts. Many Chinese and some Americans believe that the novel possesses all sorts of hidden virtue. In fact, it is only a romance centering on one boy and a dozen of girls. The compli-

cated love affairs resemble that in *Tom Jones*. The true value of this book is its detailed description which makes each character so typical that readers can tell immediately what words are spoken by which person. Studies have been made as to whom those characters may have been in real life, but there has been no agreement of opinion. "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio" is a collection of ghost stories. The subject matter, of course, came from Buddhist influence and the didactic lesson is that even a ghost knows true love and real gratitude better than a human being.

The chief contribution made by the Ching Dynasty is the establishment of Chinese Mandarin Opera. It is an unique art of symbolism which makes the audience feel and think as well as enjoy the singing and dancing. Those two elements derived from ancient chorus dance and the plots are mostly taken from the Tang stories, Yuan plays and Ming novels. The stage convention is so strict that each movement must be done in accordance with the rules. Even smiling or coughing varies according to the character of each role.

All the above mentioned literary forms remain popular in the Republic of China today. There are, however, new trends; some essays are written in colloquial language, stage plays have been adapted from European plots, traditional mandarin opera have adopted Western lighting techniques, novels reflect common life and poetry often follow free verse and use everyday vocabulary.

NOTES

- 1 A statesman and a poet of the Dukedom of Chu. Grieved over the mal-administration of the Duke, he drowned himself into the River Milo on the 5th day of the 5th month of the lunar calendar.
2. Tsu Shih of the Tsin Dynasty wrote three Fus to describe the dukedoms of the Su, the Wei and Wu.

Moral Education

M. H. June, Mak

Introduction

As early as Plato's time, the question 'can virtue be taught?' was raised in several of his dialogues. While the question has not been fully answered yet in the West (Ryle, 1972), moral formation has always been a central concern of Chinese education for more than two thousand years, with the philosophy of Confucius at its core.

It must be admitted that moral education is a very big subject for discussion and a difficult task to handle too. It is therefore impossible to give an adequate account on every aspect of it in this short article. Hence, with the problems of moral education as the central concern, the discussion begins with a brief examination of the origin and the nature of moral tradition. Then the general principles for implications will be discussed. Finally, it is hope that conclusion concerning the effect on the contemporary moral culture can come to after the analysis of the methods used in moral education.

Origin of Moral Culture

Morality is the characteristic of human beings that they hold beliefs about

how they ought to live, in other words, what they should do and should not do. Such beliefs about one's character and conduct are generally referred as moral beliefs. In Western countries such as Britain, traditionally, morality has had a very close relation with Christianity; moral education is particularly emphasised in religious studies (Moore, 1982; Hirst, 1974). However, since fewer people are involved in religious concern intellectually and emotionally, and since those social and institutional relations which were formerly viewed in religious terms, are now only very rarely voiced, there is a decay in the use of religious concepts and beliefs (Hirst, 1974). This has also been affected by the growth of scientific understanding — the objective and rational ways of thinking — religious concepts and beliefs are considered either unintelligible, inconsistent with secular thought or false. Nevertheless, what is morally right can be a matter of religious belief (Hirst, 1974). There seems to be continuing controversy concerning various issues of morality in the Western countries.

On the other hand, Chinese culture, with the humanistic philosophy of Confucius at its core, has lasted almost 4,500 years since the time of Yao and Sheng (Sih, 1976). In the Chinese moral tradition, Confucius has

been the most influential person 'confucius has been able to shape a civilisation, for so long in the landscape of East Asia (Toong, 1987 p. 2). Confucius was a sage of the middle ancient China. His accomplishments were mainly educational. He lived during the Chou period and felt that he experienced a world of chaos. People then, as now ask the question, 'what is life about?'; 'How can I lead a happy life?' It was believed that every person wanted happiness achieved through the development of a good character and the practice of good conduct (Johnson, 1970). He therefore attempted to re-establish human order by developing a set of moral teachings which was, in actual fact, a practical system of human values at a time when Chinese society was involved in social disorder (Sih, 1976). Thus, in contrast with the West, Chinese moral tradition originates from man-and-man relationship, instead of God-and-man relationship. Eastern morality is essentially social. Also, Confucius repeatedly stressed the importance of moral practice, which did not seem to be the emphasis in the West. He did not just preach in words, he reinforced his teachings and principles by examples and what he achieved among his disciples (Johnson, 1970).

Other philosophers such as Mencius and Hsun Tze made a considerable contribution to the growth and development of the Chinese ethical and moral theory. Mencius claimed that human nature was good whereas Hsun Tze held an opposite idea, he considered human nature to be wicked. Meanwhile, the introduction of various religions such as Buddhism has significant influence on Chinese moral culture. Buddhism has now been in China for about 1800 years. The ideas of retribution in the next life, compassion for others and so on clearly lie the notion

of after life, of the relation with one's act in this life to one's future life. Nevertheless, Chinese moral culture has remained Confucius-centered. Indeed, Confucianism was made for a difficult time, hence, it can be applicable to the present day world which is confronted with a situation even more difficult and more disorderly than that the time of Confucius (Sih, 1976).

The nature of moral theory

According to Hirst (1974), the aspects of moral life can be generally described as follows. Firstly, it refers to particular actions and activities, like killing others, sexual relations and promise-keeping. Secondly, it expresses itself in terms of virtues and personal qualities such as honesty and generosity. Thirdly, it could be described as patterns of expected behaviour and character built into the social culture, in any complex society. Also, the lifestyle of the people, for example, the role of parents has definitely certain moral principles associated with it. These different aspects of moral life are covered in the moral teachings of Confucius. However, he had put forward his viewpoints in well-defined terms and in greater details so that people find it easier to understand and follow.

As to Confucius, the value of man cannot be found in himself, but in his social relations with others. Thompson (1981) has precisely stated that traditional Chinese ethics and morality are essentially directed towards several practical achievements. They are listed as following: thoroughgoing moral self-cultivation and self-realisation of the individual; fulfillment of all interpersonal ethical relationships and obligations and eventually, identification of the individual

with the inner rhythm of the universal process of creativity. 'Traditional views take the grand purpose of ethics and morality as to facilitate the participation of the individual in the cosmic fount of creativity within as well as in the ongoing cosmic creative process without (Thompson, 1981, p.1). In simple terms, the moral and ethical theories concern to foster and enrich the quality of individual and collective life.

Since a person's virtue and value can only be assessed through his performance in relation to others and his impact upon human society, Confucius therefore categorised mankind into five human relations government and citizens, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother and among friends (Sih, 1976). In order to judge one's value, one can be assessed whether in his relation to the government, he is a loyal citizen; in his relations to his father, he is filial; in his relations towards brothers, he is honest and sincere. These interpretations come from what generally recognised as 'the eight moral virtues namely: (chung) loyalty to ruler or nation and (hsiao) filial piety; (jen) benevolence and (ai) love; (hsin) trustworthiness and (i) righteousness and (ho) harmony and (ping) peace. To summarise all these moral obligations that the Analects of Confucius had developed, that is jen.

What is jen? Literally speaking, jen is composed of two words: 'two' and 'man'. It is benevolence and the fulfillment of appropriate interpersonal relationship as the supreme ideal theme for the conceptions and conduct of human life (Thompson, 1981). To Confucius, jen was the virtue of virtues, the most necessary and the most desirable. It was the central virtue upon which Confucius based human relations; it was the concept of

filiality and fraternal love that was to serve as the cornerstone of social structure; it was a state of mind where one knows as the golden rule was practised and where true and unselfish love are dominant (Johnson, 1970). Also, true knowledge would lead a man to act all by himself (Chang, 1980). Therefore, the idea of autonomy was underpinning. Johnson (1970) is justified in saying that anyone who practiced jen could not help but be a good ruler, a good citizen, a good child, a good husband or wife and a good neighbour. Although so much of Confucius's teachings were concerned with the reformation of social order, he put great emphasis on individual. It is the individual responsibility to educate his mind and strengthen his character for the tasks he will have to face in everyday life. In order to take responsibility for oneself, one must in fact possess the autonomy to do so.

In the West, there are two main streams which regard all areas of thinking including moral thinking as candidates for knowledge. They are objectivity and relativism. Hirst (1974) is certainly right to say that moral life cannot simply be expressed in simple terms, such as, the life of love, because it can be ambiguous and indeed unhelpful. He concludes that 'justice' seems to be the root of morality in the human and natural context. 'Morals are indeed autonomous' (Hirst, 1974, p. 33). Moral judgements must be examined in their own right in an attempt to discover whether or not there can be found in them any of the features that are necessary for objectivity in this area. Kant claims that the principle of morality is that 'one can only be rational in one's actions if one acts on a rule which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law' (Hirst, 1974, p.

44). Peters is not arbitrarily laying down as a basis one set of principles from which reasoning can take place, thus setting up one form of morality when many other forms could be developed from alternative sets of principles. He argues that 'if anyone pursues consistently having reasons for actions, that person will be driven back to these principles, and that these can be shown to have an ultimate status' (Hirst, 1974, p.46). Furthermore, the justifications should be shown to be an account of what all rational men must accept ultimately in the concern for reasoned actions, and not merely a personal assertion. Such a school of thought which has emphasised objectivity and rationality in moral judgement has had a profound effect on the development of western society which is much in advance technically and scientifically.

The other main perspective on western morality is that of relativism. No doubt, different societies have developed different ways of reasoning about actions and these have had implicit necessary features which were built into the relevant concepts and discourse just as the principles or rational autonomy which Peters reports, may be built in Britain. In this way, an account of morality is relative to one's own society. Hence, such an approach to morality must have a set of principles formulated within a conceptual scheme which is historically and socially relative. It is true to state that any particular concepts, if needed to be understood, have to relate to that particular experience and application before any judgement can be made, that is, others' terms of references have to be respected in all circumstances. The strength of this theory is obvious in that it is tolerant, as it pays respect to any other systems. However, it brings along many difficulties

in practice. For example, it accepts other systems too readily and therefore it cannot make its own judgement; it may therefore follow orders blindly or it may even follow a tyranny, an evil one. In relation to education, its position is questionable and uncertain. There would be no reason why one would border about moral education as there is neither standard one can compare with nor means of judgement. One may question what one should teach and why one would want to teach morality. In short, the idea of relativism is inconsistent and questionable.

Thompson (1981, p.1) justifiably summarises that the western conceptions of ethics are defined in terms of general codes of principles, precepts and prescriptions, and morality as a matter of individual rational and practical submission to such external, abstract ethical codes while in the east, 'ethics is considered in terms of a metaphysical vision of the cosmos, and expressed in derived principles and methods for fulfilling essential interpersonal relations and carrying out actions in the world so as to induce the fertile atmosphere of harmony' and morality is the 'method of cultivation one's inner disposition and moral-ethical perceptivity so as to release the self from the bonds of egocentricity and moral bias, thereby consolidating his moral-ethical practice.' He further explains that 'the western moral-ethical theory is concerned to formulate a justified, consistent universal code of right conduct to which any rational agent would submit, the traditional Chinese approach is concerned with the problem of how — in light of the postulated vision of reality and man — to promote the moral-ethical development and creativity of the individual and the harmony of interpersonal life'.

While in the West there seems a lack of emphasis on moral practice, rather on moral reasoning and judgement, Confucius had repeatedly stressed its importance. He said, 'to be good is to practise all those virtues appropriate to one's relations to others, so as to fulfill his moral and social obligations (Sih, 1976, p.29). He did not produce any writing, he merely offered his personal views which were recorded by his disciples and represented by primarily three pieces of work namely: the *Analects* (*Lun Yu*), the *Great Learning* (*Ta-Shueh*) and the *Doctrine of Mean* (*Chung Yung*). These three pieces of work recorded what he stated in his discourses with his disciples and provided the basic principles for traditional Chinese moral-ethical theory (Sih, 1976).

The *Analects* gives the fundamental guidelines for manhood. As mentioned before, the value of man can only be found in man's social relationship with others and it starts from an individual basis. The *Great Learning* provides means to implement these principles mentioned in *Analects*. As a kind of methodology, the *Great Learning* offers eight steps to follow towards the cultivation of individual's personality as the starting point. The eight steps in sequence of procedure are to investigate things so as to attain true knowledge; to attain true knowledge so as to purify the mind; to purify the mind so as to rectify the heart; to rectify the heart so as to cultivate personality; to cultivate personality so as to regulate the family; to regulate the family so as to put the state in order; to put the state in order so as to achieve universal peace (Sih, 1976). In short, man has to develop and perfect his personality whose ultimate goal is to achieve universal harmony and peace through the regulations of one's family and the development of well-

governed nation.

The third classic book — the *Doctrine of the Mean* — aims to provide the spirit the ways and means of human actions and performance in the advancement of these eight different steps (Thompson, 1981). As the mean is the centre point which provides the equilibrium, the *Doctrine of the Mean* teaches one how to act in a just and right way, 'no more, no less and never go into the extremes (Sih, 1976, p. 30). As the two ends change, the centre point changes accordingly. That is to say, the *Doctrine of the Mean* represents the way of moderation in a dynamic but not static manner, which helps to achieve progress through understanding and stability, with minimum cost of destruction or violence (Sih, 1976). It has many implications, for instance, in social relationship, it can mean order and harmony. In education, it indicates coaching and correction with 'normal behaviour' as the goal. In philosophy, it shows the inner unity of opposites with no need to create an 'absolute' because the mean is shared by both of them. (Chang, 1980).

Furthermore, Confucius considered 'li' (well-conceived social norms and propriety) as objective sets of behaviour patterns to express his 'loving others', thus facilitating the achievement of interpersonal relationships. 'To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue (jen),' 'i' (righteousness) which objectively stands for moral right, and 'chih' (wisdom) illuminates the achievement of one's deep moral insight (Thompson, 1981). In sum, the nature of Chinese ethical-moral theory starts from the individual through practising appropriate interpersonal relationships, ends in harmony with the universe within the holistic model. The principles for moral practice are propriety, righteous and the

mean; and the final ultimate goal of life is 'jen'. On the other hand, when one reflects on the ethics and morality of the West, one can think of it in terms of a linear progression of rational autonomous individual who continuously seeks for reasons in all his actions. Thus, he can encounter many difficulties when he tries to make decisions because he is often confronted with the notion of dichotomy — yes or no; right or wrong. Also, he is rather uncertain of what his ultimate goal of his actions is.

Moral Education

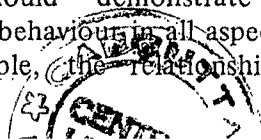
Though the answer to the question 'can virtue be taught?' has not come to full consensus in the West, it is generally agreed that, both in the East and the West, that moral standards are not inborn but have to be learned (Ryle, 1972). 'Confucius, Socrates and Plato and Aristotle agreeably maintained that good is attainable. If man lives upon and does his proper work or functions in conformity with the highest or perfect virtue, he surely will attain this good, the human good, of course' (Chung, 1970, p. 76).

It seems that everybody wants to be good and one accepts that men are of good nature, hence, education should come in Meyer (1988) reports that ever since the dynastic period and right down to the present day (he is referring to Taiwan), morality has been a paramount concern within the educational process. In Chinese history, education has been an important part of life. Of the four classes, scholars came first, followed by farmers, workers and merchants. The last three were producers who contributed their labour to society, while the scholars contribute their knowledge to the education of the other classes. Hence, the

government was almost entirely made up of scholars. "Let those who labour within their minds govern others, let those who engaged in physical work be others". (Tsang, 1981, p.23). Scholars therefore had every good reason to be respected by the other classes, and won the right to be supported. This is a great virtue of Chinese culture (Meyer, 1988). To give further examples, Emperors Kang Hsi (1644-1722 A.D.) and Yung Cheng (1722-1736 A.D.) had made the Confucian morality, the basis of continuous ideological indoctrination. It remained so throughout the Ching Dynasty. A contract form was used for hiring a teacher specified that the duty of the teacher is to 'guide the students, taking care that they seek the good, leading them throughout to achievement' and that they are 'grateful for beneficence, to respect virtue without limit.' Also, an attempt to modernise traditional Chinese education at that time, the moral emphasis remained unchanged.

In the past, moral education for the majority in China was informal. It came first from the family and for the favoured few, they would receive training in classical literature (Meyer, 1988). At present, moral education necessarily begins with the family, and to a certain extent, it may involve other institutions before children go to formal school. The continuous educative and socialising effects are obviously important as for many children, school is the only source of regular moral influence they encounter, apart from their homes and their peer groups (Hirst, 1974).

Hence, there are several points worth considering by the school. Firstly, the school should demonstrate morally acceptable behaviour in all aspects of life. For example, the relationship among



children; between children and adults and among staff of the school. There should be patterns of behaviour that are justifiable in general terms. Secondly, the academic staff should be rational autonomous individuals. Thirdly, the behaviours of all members of the school should reflect levels of moral maturity (Hirst, 1974). In doing so, the establishment of a school council to determine the content of the practical rules and principles of the school should be worth considering.

Regarding teaching methodology in moral education, Meyer (1988), from his study of 'moral education in Taiwan', finds that there are several factors contributing to 'some failures' of moral education. Firstly, morality is taught in too authoritarian manner, and is too dogmatic and doctrinaire in approach. Another factor is that the principles of morality are too idealised and lofty and therefore not easily related to real life. Fortunately, there is a recent profound change in teaching methodology from a traditional 'teacher as authority' to a discussion based approach in Taiwan. Hirst (1974) agrees that moral education cannot be carried out by making pupils' behaviour conformist by external imposition of even the best rules. Learners should never be forced into role-taking of a dependent submissive type when they should be learning to think in an autonomous fashion, otherwise, it will inhibit moral development of the learners. Discussion methodology can take place in various forms, for instance, debate or small group discussion. They are, in fact, the inductive method working towards principles. Also discussion should relate to actual situation at home, in school and in the contemporary society which provide examples of moral dilemma.

Ways of Confucius teaching methodologies are worth examining as the role of the teachers is crucial in moral education. Confucius did not want to merely train his disciples, but to educate them which meant to develop and discipline them morally and mentally, so that through them, a uniform, just and strong government and a stable and permanent order among men would result (Johnson, 1970). He taught unceasingly and he always practised what he preached. He had in fact used 'modelling' as the teaching method. Hence, it is emphasised that teachers should have total commitment to the development of rational autonomy in both thought and action so that they can teach with confidence as having substantial rational defence. However, the teacher should also know the limits of that defence and to be true to that limit. Confucius was frank in admitting that he did know all truth. He guaranteed no answer, but he was involved in searching for it. At the same time, Confucius urged people to think for themselves. He said he would neither teach a man who is not eager to learn, nor he would explain to one incapable of forming his own ideas (Johnson, 1970). He believed that men would reach 'perfectibility' through learning, in the power of good-example, and in the wisdom of not going to extremes in any matter is just as pertinent, relevant and applicable to today's world. Furthermore, Confucius always used his personal examples, and related his viewpoints in the dialogues with others, relevant to the immediate and current events (Chung, 1970). Also, his teaching had provided ample inspiration for reflective thoughts and righteous actions for both individual and public official alike (Johnson, 1970).

Meanwhile, Liao (1988) suggests that the addition of audio-visual aids can facili-

tate learning. Confucius had also expressed his concern that personal cultivation begins with poetry, is established by rites and is perfected by music' (Analects, 8:8). He regarded poetry as a 'moral force' which moderated one's nature and inspired one's ethical feeling. At the same time, he called music a 'cultivating force' because it harmonised one's sentiments and restrained one's passions (Johnson, 1970). In a recent study, Meyer (1988) finds that the Chinese education (he refers to Taiwan) is permeated with morality. He says that the entire curriculum (except perhaps such courses as mathematics and science) is saturated with moral themes. It is justifiable to state that moral education should not enter curricula as a distinct subject or area of study, also, it is undesirable to deal with moral education under 'English' or 'Religious Education' (Hirst, 1974).

instance, the story of Yueh Fei to teach patriotism and the story of Mencius's mother moving three times to show the importance of a good moral environment can be included. Whereas in the West, Moore (1982) suggests moralists such as La Fontaine and Jane Austin had provided illuminating examples too. What is more, there are many other opportunities to teach morality, for examples, displays, exhibitions and celebration of National holidays (Meyer, 1988).

Conclusion

In an attempt to examine morality of people in the East and the West, one finds it hard to remain rational and objective in all circumstances as morality is a matter concerning man. To exert the mind on an object requires rationality, but to exert the mind on other's mind in man-to-man relationship creates emotional attachment.

The ideal view of the life and culture of the Chinese people is to build human relationship without defying nature. Hence, the traditional Chinese moral culture put more emphasis on emotional attachment than on the rational part. However, all elements in the Chinese ideal seems to be located within the reality of life. As it is absolutely in favour of the union of both spiritualism and materialism, the Chinese call it 'unification of man and heaven'. On the contrary, the philosophic thoughts of other societies, have an intense clash between spiritualism and materialism.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen (the National Father of China) in 1924, clearly revealed that the Chinese have to learn from the West was not political philosophy or morality, but science. In a recent speech to High School administrators, the late President Chiang Ching-Kuo of the Republic of China stated the same principle, 'today, although our education has of course modern western scientific knowledge, we still want to proclaim the spirit of our Chinese traditional education ... which is a blend of education the mind, moral education, character building and education for living' (Meyer, 1988, p.22).

The world today is facing a number of crisis military, political, economic and social. Most critically, people are confronted with moral and spiritual crisis. Mrs Clare Boothe Luce, in her interview with editors of U.S. News and World Reports in 1974, has rightly stated that 'no man can live and no society can survive for very long without a religion and a faith of some sort that explains man's nature and the meaning of his life and death. It is also true that the history of civilization is the history of society's religions. By 'religion', it means 'any system of thought and belief that 'ties

things together' and give a society something which explains to its satisfaction the meaning of life and death, of good and evil, and of man's own nature' (Sih, 1976, p.30).

More than 2,500 years ago, Confucius handed down to the Chinese people precisely these things which, in Mrs Luce's terms, 'that tied them together and have provided them with satisfactory answers to all kinds of problems that men have to deal with. The progress made in scientific and technological areas, have prolonged the life expectancy of man by ten or fifteen years. However, it can equally do harm to human lives, for example, a nuclear war could eliminate millions of lives in a few minutes. Hence, it be worthwhile to consider the eastern moral ideal, for instance Confucius's thought 'no world peace can be attained without well-governed states; no well-governed states can be created without well-regulated families; no well-regulated families can be developed without well-cultivated individuals' (Sih, 1976, p. 30). In order to attain universal peace and harmony, individuals need to have total commitment to develop a full and perfect person-

ality as the starting point.

total commitment to develop a full and perfect personality as the starting point.

In Confucius' teachings, self-cultivation as the first step of moral education is consistently mentioned, however, there seems no clear guidelines as to how one can cultivate within oneself. The stress on the promotion of rational autonomy in the West should be beneficial and fundamentally essential. There are, of course, strengths and weaknesses on both eastern and western moral culture. The danger of eastern approach is that it might be over conformity; whereas the danger of western approach is that it concentrates too much on thought and too little on feelings and actions. But if either approach is properly understood, they are just different in emphasis. Therefore, there is no coherent clash in the aims of moral education from either perspectives, both the East and the West can teach the other something about methods. Morality should be the immediate concern of all people in the East and the West, and moral education should start right away from individual, parents, schools and what is more, the leaders of the societies.

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General Ru's Wall (a Fiction)

John D. Young (楊意龍)

I was probably six or seven years old. My parents had barely enough money to send one child to school, and naturally my sister, who was two years older, went. But each morning, I insisted on dressing up — meaning to put on my only pair of shoes — to wave goodbye to her at the school's entrance with my mother. Afterwards, she and I would attend to one of the more important chores in our daily routine — buying fresh produce at the Diamond Hill market.

In those days, markets in Hong Kong were centres of pandemonium; screaming hawkers, impatient customers, repugnant smells and extreme disorderliness. And then there were the frequent police raids aimed to put away for good the unlicensed "street-merchants", namely those who could not afford to pay tea-money to members of the triads and the police force. Each time the police appeared, they would scream, "*chau-kwei*", running ghosts, alerting everyone to become invisible in the shortest time possible.

Most frightening in the market, however, and especially for a child, was the large number of beggars. They were glued to every food-stall, vegetable stand and rice shop. Any piece or shred of disowned edible foodstuff was a target. Now and then, a brawl would break out, when an apple, or a tomato, fell off a hawker's tray, and ten or twelve vagabonds scram-

bled to get to the unfortunate fruit first. In time, truces had to be arranged, and these homeless people would wait late into the evening, to salvage the unsold and leftover food. Some of the hawkers, who were perhaps beggars themselves once, handed over part of what they could not sell, so that they too would return to their homes with the day's dinner, and a good conscience. Virtues had to be accumulated.

For these beggars were more than undernourished, or in constant semistarvation. Most of them were physically deformed, usually in extremely grotesque ways. No arms, no legs. Some had half a face, some had scars all over their bodies. Soldiers, and deserters, my mother told me. One time, I saw a man with no limbs; afterwards I developed a fever and became ill for days. The nightmares lasted even longer, because it was customary to warn a young boy that if he misbehaved, the beggar-boss (generally the most ugly one of the group) would kidnap him, raise him in a jar so that he would never grow, and then sell him off to the circus.

As I grew more and more frightened of the life-and-death struggle at the market place, my mother finally reached a solution. She would leave me at the Szechuan noodle shop while she surveyed the market hunting for special bargains: "You must bargain at all times with these

Cantonese," she repeatedly said. For an hour each day, I was to be at the noodle shop, not by myself, of course, as the store-owner agreed to keep an eye on me, and I would spend that time working on my ten-cent per-bowl noodles, slowly. "Don't run around, either. Just sit there," the same admonition everyday before she took off with her basket. "It's fine, it's fine," the Szechuan lady always screamed back, "If I get too busy, General Ru can always look after him."

The wooden stools were terribly hard, and therefore uncomfortable to sit on for any extended length of time. Since the shop was small, the customers were expected to finish their noodles in a few gulps, leaving with tears sometimes because the chilli was so spicy. At any rate, there was no particular reason to hang around in that congested traffic of human bodies. But every morning I was there, General Ru was there.

"Chiang-chun? What does it mean?" I asked General Ru in Mandarin, after I slowly got used to the sight of his one arm. In reality, it must have been weeks, or perhaps even months, before I muscled enough courage to stare at him, to inspect his green and torn uniform. I had to make sure that he was not one of those beggar-bosses who kidnapped children. I was afraid of him because I did not like strangers washing my pair of chopsticks. "You have to pour hot water over them to kill the germs," he lectured. "You don't want to get infected by tuberculosis." I supposed that amongst his other duties, a general's job was to teach personal hygiene to little children like me. "Yes, general," I responded each time. "No, it is General Ru, the Grand Marshall from Szechuan," he insisted.

A general, General Ru loved to elaborate, was a warrior of ethics, a leader

whose subordinates were ready to die for him in any situation. "I am a man of moral uprightness, first and foremost," he would murmur to himself now and then. I always wondered if he knew that very often I had no idea what he was talking about. Morality to a seven-year old? These things did stick in my mind: obey your parents, study hard, love China, and stay away from the red bandits!

Years later, after my family had moved away from Diamond Hill, Kowloon's main quarry for granite excavation, I learnt General Ru was working as an excavator at one of the mining sites. Some of his old troop members wanted to look after him, but as the story had it, being a gentleman of Confucian principles, he steadfastly refused to live off another man's hard labour.

The real reason behind his mining activities, I suspected, was a secret shared between General Ru and me; persevere in his one-armed effort, and possibly one day he might re-discover his wall.

Except for a vague memory of his elongated face, his white goatee and bald head, I could not recall the rest of his physical appearance. What stuck in my mind was this fantastic ability of his to finish a bowl of extra-extra hot Szechuan *dandan* noodles in two seconds. With his right hand, he would pour half a bottle of red pepper sauce into the already spiced up yellow noodles, and then with the same hand holding a pair of sanitized chopsticks, he pushed all the noodles into his mouth in two sweeps. "I have to keep up my health," he impulsively told me one day. "Health is vital to my search for the wall."

To General Ru, I was real weakling, constantly coughing and always seemed to be unable to catch my breath; he thought I also had worms. "Boy, if you improve

your health, I will take you to look for the wall with me."

"Wall?"

"Yes, *chiang*, those jade gates which separate us humans from the great paradise."

In the land where General Ru born, and where he also grew up (according to him, it was a pity that I had to spend my childhood in Hong Kong), there was a series of hills called Nine Dragons. "The same name for Kowloon, yes?" He repeatedly stated. These hills in Szechuan, he said, were more like mountains compared to those locally. His mountains were buried in the clouds most times of the year. There was a better chance of finding the wall in his native land, General Ru lamented.

"You see, the nine dragons of heaven sleep on top of these nine mountains whenever they are in the region. They come and go, but once in perhaps a million years, they accidentally leave one of their scales on their bodies behind. This scale cuts into the ground and stands like a wall – if you pass the wall, you will enter paradise."

"You mean, you will become very rich if you come across one of these dragon-scales?" I had to interrupt him.

"No, boney," he answered, using my nickname. "The scale gets covered by sand and mud over the million years. It ends up looking like an ordinary wall, and most people would not recognize it even if they were blessed with the opportunity."

"Have you ever seen one of these dragon-scale walls?"

General Ru became a military commander at the age of thirty, after being trained in Japan and Germany. He said people in those countries also believed in stories of dragons sleeping on top of

mountains, but they had never heard of dragon-scales. But while he was posted in Chungking, after the Japanese invasion began, he learnt about their existence from the local people. His curiosity was aroused, and sometimes after air-raids, he would leave the city proper, and climb the Hills of the Nine Dragons.

One day, for some odd reasons, the Japanese planes missed their targets, and continuously bombarded those hills. "For a few moments, we thought the whole earth trembled," General Ru recalled, "I had a sudden urge to climb up one of them and to see what damage was caused."

"There were fallen trees everywhere, and big holes on the ground. I climbed, and climbed, for how many hours I do not remember. But when I got to the top, there was this yellow-coloured wall right in front of me. Perhaps ten, twelve feet high. I couldn't tell for sure because the clouds were getting more and more dense, and I suddenly developed a sense of being lost. It was getting dark, and me, a soldier, was actually getting a bit frightened."

"Did you try to climb over this wall?" I was fascinated.

General Ru never gave me a satisfactory answer, or maybe he gave me several different versions on what he exactly did. Either he climbed over the wall, or he simply went around it. "After I got to the other side of the wall, I suddenly found myself walking down the slopes of a small hill. I was greeted by people I had known in the past, who waved at me, and tried to invite me into their beautiful huts, each with a garden in front. The sun was warm, and I had a sense of relief. Perhaps I was back in the city, but some of these faces belonged to people who had passed away!"

He was escorted into each household, almost against his will. Food and tea were served. A sense of ecstasy and blissfulness overwhelmed him, and he never felt more satisfied in his whole life. His friends, some of whom were dead years ago, mostly killed in battles, told him: "You must also build a hut here, and stay with us forever."

"The place was a harmonious blending of beautiful things I had ever known. There was great peace, as I wandered around from house to house." As he spoke, I wondered to myself if the feeling was a bit like having consumed the perfect bowl of noodles, with that sensation of being everlastingly content. I did ask him, "No beggars?"

General Ru could not recall why he had left the land behind the wall. It was probably because he felt he had to return to fetch his family, and to say good-bye to his troops. But he did find himself in front of the wall one morning. "Only then did I realize that the wall was quite high from the other side, and almost fifty to sixty feet long. Instead of trying to climb over it, I thought I could simply go down to the far end and walk around it, circumvent it . . . I must take care of my responsibilities, and then return right away."

To his horror, the moment he stepped over to the other side of the wall, it quickly became apparent to him that he was no longer on top of the Hills of the Nine Dragons in his native province. There were streets and cars and people running around speaking an unfamiliar

dialect. Several people almost knocked him over, and one man screamed at him, telling him to move faster. He was in Hong Kong.

"And months later, after wandering around and running into some of my old troops, I heard about the nine dragon hills of Kowloon. So I crossed the harbour, and settled in Diamond Hill. I must find the wall again, and return to my home in China, or . . ."

Instead of dreaming about the market beggars and circus dwarfs, I became obsessed with walls — different shapes and sizes — in my many nightmares.

General Ru did promise to take me to the hills with him, but nothing came of it. Sometime after he told me the story, my parents scraped up enough money to send me to school. Too many stories of boys disappearing in the neighbourhood; my mother no longer thought it was a good idea to have me sit in the noodle-shop everyday. A lugubrious result was that I no longer had the opportunities to listen to General Ru's other tales, most of which escaped my memory. The secret of General Ru's wall, however, lasted with me to the present day.

I ran into General Ru a few more times in the noodle-shop, and then I saw him less and less until one day he disappeared, simply vanished. It was a common occurrence at Diamond Hill, people came and went as the place was more a haven than a home. Some neighbourhood gossip speculated that General Ru had probably moved on to Taiwan.

Or, he might have found his wall.

Twelve Hundred Years of Japanese Poetry in English Translation

Graeme Wilson

Cicadas

So high these summer mountains
And the tops of their trees so high
That, when their insects shrill to each other
Challenge and reply,
It is as though cicada-sound
Were all we have for sky.

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (681-729)

Stranger

Whenever I pass my mirror
It looks to me as though
Someone down in its shining depths
Were shuffling to and fro.

Who can that quaint old codger be?
Someone I should know?

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (681-729)

Persistence

By now, like snow to its melt,
I should by rights be dead
But on and on I've dragged my life out,
So far, be it said,
Not to much good, in the hope that time
Might bring you to my bed.

Lady Otomo no Tamura (8th century)

At the Posthouse

In the posthouse-tower, last year, my good friend Wang
Wept as with fast-held hands we said goodbye.
Returned today, I question the duty-officer:
"That small mound there", he answers, "last July".

Sugawara no Michizane (845-903)

Disaffection

Why should I care for someone
Who would not pause to spare
So much as a glance to notice me,
Not even if I were
One who could pile up chicken's eggs
Ten eggs by ten eggs square.

Ki no Tomonori (-905)

Vows

Undying love I promised
But, since a man may die
At any moment, day or night,
What fool would dare rely
On such a promise?
You? I doubt it.
Certainly not I.

Fujiwara no Atsutada (906-943)

Fallen Petals

Since of yourselves, his Lordship's servants,
Truly one can say
That this morning's sunshine shines on none
More subtle-souled than they,
Need I find words to dissuade you
From sweeping flowers away?

Minamoto no Kimitada (early 10th century)

Green Love

No matter how one darks oneself
 – And I've tried, I've tried –
 The love-thoughts that transluce the flesh
 Are as hard to hide
 As those green lights which a firefly's body
 Suffers from inside.

Anonymous (10th century)

Worst Loneliness

Had I stayed awake and waited
 I should have suffered less,
 Even knowing that you would not come,
 Than my present distress
 To have slept and dreamt of you and woken
 To this worst loneliness.

Anonymous (10th century)

Morning Garden

If, having looked for him all night long,
 He were now to appear,
 How would I feel as I watched his foot-prints
 Ruin the sheer
 Snow-perfection of my morning garden
 By his coming here?

Lady Izumi Shikibu (973 - c.1033)

Rat

The rat which gnawed these lotus-berry beads,
 This nun's prayer-plaything, were its teeth set fast
 Upon repentance for its soul's misdeeds
 In some lost ugly lifetime of its past?

Fujiwara no Sadayori (995-1045)

Separation

Believe me, I think nothing
Of these darknesses of pine
Which dull my days in Sumiyoshi.

There can be no shine
In my lonely life till your long dark shadow
Overshadows mine.

Fujiwara no Kenshi (c.1000 -)

With a Gift of Irises

Letters that start, as this one does,
With "Ah, but my sleeves are wet"
Tend to be tearful.

Not so mine.

I do not regret
Soaking my sleeves as I picked these flowers
For a person lovelier yet.

Nyokurodo Sakon (fl.c. 1017)

Winter Sub-song

In glens below Mimoro Mountain
Spring has begun.

Already under winter-snows
Unnoticed waters run
To tap from hidden rocks their tiny
Sub-song to the sun.

Minamoto no Kunizane (1069-1111)

Moonlit Orchard

On this spring night
The moonbeams leant
Like ladders through the apple-boughs
Seem downwards bent
Not by the weight of flowers but by

White apple-scent.

Fujiwara no Toshinari (1114-1204)

Body

One knows this body
Only too well
As husk, illusion,
Cicada-shell.

But it did feel cold
When the first snows fell.

Priest Saigyō (1118-1190)

Metempsychosis

Not easy to earn, these human forms
That we occupy.
Not easy at all. But so easily lost
If we fail to try
Hard enough learning how not to sink back
To a fox or a fly.

Priest Saigyō (1118-1190)

Plum Flowers

I passed the flowering plum-tree
And, passing, did not know
Until I smelt their lack of scent
That every flower was snow.

Priest Saigyō (1118-1190)

Stragglers

The main text of wild geese,
Lamenting, has flown by.

A pause;
And then these stragglers

Like a postscript on the sky.

Priest Saigyô (1118 - 1190)

Summer Moon

Tonight the moon is unseasonably bright.
To be more precise,
So brilliant is its steady blaze
That one has to look twice
To be reassured that the shining pond
Is not some sheet of ice.

Priest Saigyô (1118 - 1190)

Premonition

Always, until now,
I've planned how I would spend
The twelve months of each coming year.
So I cannot pretend
To be other than sad that I'll make no plans
At this year's end.

Fujiwara no Sanefusa (1156 - 1235)

Frolic

I think that man was born for frolic:
Even to this day
The sound of the voices of children
Frolicing away
Stirs in these stiff old legs their inborn
Aptitude for play.

Anonymous (12th century)

Hanging On

Though life is worse than wearisome,
A burden and a bore,
I do my best to stay alive

Because I trust no more
 In an after-life than I yet remember
 Having lived before.

Minamoto no Moromitsu (late 12th century)

Breakthrough

These four and fifty years
 I've hung up stars in the sky,
 All to be shattered now that I take
 Death's leap-through to be I.

Dogen (1200 - 1253)

Just Two

Lightning flashed.
 In its startling blue
 Brief-lived light I could count how many
 Drops of dew
 Hung on a grass-blade.
 Two, just two.

Reizei Tamehide (c.1302 -1372)

Lust Denied

I have become a kind of darkness.
 If what I tried
 To think was love indeed,
 Then love has died
 And all that lives is the demon born
 Out of lust denied.

Zeami Motokyo (1365 - 1444)

Visiting the Master

If no-one calls, I'm glad; and, if they do,

Narked that they blunt the edge of my loneliness,
Of my watching the flowers wilt, the slow winds strew
Untrodden pathways red.

What politesse,
What Zen-refinements you had looked to find
To reward your soul for its slog to this awful place.

Well, you got it wrong. My hundred-flowered mind
Blooms for itself behind this worn face.

Zen Master Ikkyu (1394 - 1481)

Deathbed

Bitter, bitter, that it was;
But bloody funny too.

My father lying on his death-bed
While nothing I might do
Could staunch my tears or check the fearful
Farts my body blew.

Yamazaki Soka (1464 - 1552)

Mister Moon

Mister Moon, Mister Moon,
Why don't the stars come out?
Because the full moon hates them,
That's why they won't come out.

What's that there? A baby owl,
A baby owl that skims the pond.
And what is that beyond the owl?
Nobody knows what lies beyond.

Children's Song

In the Winter Woods

In the winter woods
When the axe-blade fell
How unforeseeably,
unforgettably,

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inexpressibly
Green the smell.

Yosa Buson (1716 - 1783)

Spring Dawn

Dawn breaks; or is it bird-calls
Illuminating night?

Look, from the cries of pheasants
Grow layerings of light
Till, one by one, the mountain rice-flats
Listen to be white.

Murata Harumi (1746 - 1811)

Going to Town

When I was a lad, and a bit on the sporty side,
I knew this town as I know my own ten toes:
Togged up in my smartest tunic, I would ride
That chestnut horse with the white blaze down his nose.

Now an old priest, I walked back here today
And under the peach-bloom frilling the river-shore
Drank until dusk. Home-bound, I lost my way.
Where's this? One laughs; but I'm back at the cat-house door.

Priest Ryokan (1757 - 1831)

Snail of the Paddy

Snail of the paddy, snail of the paddy,
Off to the hills now: go, go, go.

That's where I went in the spring last year
And a big black bird they call a crow
Pecked me this side, pecked me that side,
Rolled me over on my back,
Pecked me this side, pecked me that side,
Pecked this paddy-snail blue and black.

Never for a second time, no, no, no:

Back to the hills I will not go.

Children's Song

Nun

In this lonely mountain village
It has become my way
To listen only to the voices of trees
So that, today,
I'm lonely only when the wind drops
And the trees have nothing to say.

Rengetsu-ni (1790 - 1875)

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Cover: Kuang Kung fights with Tsai Yang in an episode from the opera "The Encounter at Ku Cheng," which is adapted from the popular novel "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms."

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The Reception of Latin American Fiction in Taiwan

I-Chun Wang

(王儀君)

For a long period of time, Latin American literatures suffered being ignored and underestimated; comparatively it came too late to the world's banquet-table, but during the last two decades, the richness and diversity of Latin American literatures proved one of the greatest literatures of the western world. In Asian countries, scholars, researchers and publishers have also begun their access to the mysterious and untacted new world; increased flow of translations and short introductions to the achievements of distinguished writers have helped to create a wider audience so that Latin American literatures up to this time begin to receive more serious attentions and evaluations. In Taiwan, due to the flourish of publications and devoted scholars' critical essays published in newspapers and magazines, the study of the literature of Latin America has formed an increasing vogue in the past few years. This paper is intended firstly as an investigation into Latin American fiction as received and evaluated by the Chinese in Taiwan, secondly, this paper will provide a general critical survey of magic realism as received by Taiwanese writers emerging in the '80s and at once explore the notion of dreams as presented in Chinese literature, since these features

contribute greatly to Chinese readers' appreciation of magic realism as presented in Latin American literatures. I would like to suggest, moreover, that penetration into the mysterious existence, nostalgia for the past as well as human being's perpetual longing for a happy life and a promising future as found in the works by Garcia Marquez, Borges, Argueta, and some others illustrate eminently the fact that they have broken up the boundaries of East and West, drawing the attentions and appealing to the sympathy of the Chinese in Taiwan as well as the people from the rest of the world.

I

In Taiwan, the reception of literatures written in Spanish can be referred back to the 1940's when the government of the Republic of China under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek, with its devoted politicians, soldiers, writers, teachers and students, retreated to Taiwan from the Chinese Mainland, most of which had already been dominated by the Chinese Communists. What these people hoped for was to establish another basis for a democratic society. Some of the publishers, factory owners and educational administrators followed, all

attempting to restore the democratic atmosphere they enjoyed before. With the founding of universities and institutions, the establishment of factories, stores and research centers, the teaching and learning Spanish and the study of literatures written in Spanish regenerated also in the universities as Fu-Jen and Tamkang. The Spanish Departments of these two universities together with professional training centers and nonacademic newspapers and magazines started to familiarize their students and readers with introductions to the cultures and traditions of the countries in Latin America; one of the main reasons was to provide more informations for the people interested in emigration and investment. The interests in Latin American literatures, however, were limited to the departments of Spanish; an increasing understanding of them did not begin until some ten years ago. These years, the literatures of Latin America have gradually formed an increasing vogue in Taiwan; reading and studying Garcia Marquez, Borges, Vargas Llosa and Argueda are no longer an equivalent to the assignments for Spanish majors. The students of European literatures Course feel it especially unsatisfactory that their textbook, *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* include only one Latin American writer, Jorge Luis Borges.¹ Some professors offering this course, therefore, have to supplement with more materials to meet the demand of the students. As for the students of Latin American literature Course, which has been offered in Fu-Jen and Tamkang universities, take more interests in the selections of single authors instead of a comprehensive survey to the historical backgrounds of these literatures, which according to a survey made six months

ago, seem to be complicated and difficult for the students. Most of them participating in the survey expressed their willingness to know more about literary works, especially contemporary literatures. They admitted at the same time that they bought Chinese translations of contemporary works for outside readings. The reasons are three: 1) contemporary Latin American writings are very impressive with their writing skills, 2) four Nobel Prize winners are the best verification of the values of Latin American literatures, and 3) the social and political situations of Latin America reminded them of the status of R.O.C. and recalled their painful memories about China Mainland; especially, the emigration of some noted Latin American writers because of political oppression motivated the students to penetrate into the problems of existence as reflected in these literatures.²

In Taiwan, the students of the graduate programs of Spanish are particularly active responding to contemporary Latin American literatures and even some of them participate in the translation projects of some publishers. The translator of a collection of short stories and essays, Chuen-Chieh Yiu (游淳節), for example, the translator of Juan Rulfo's remarkable novel *Pedro Paramo*, Shiu-yin Chang (張琇瑩), as well the translator of fifteenth short stories of Latin America by different authors, Tzu-Chi Yieh (葉子啓), were all graduate students in Taiwan when they launched out into their projects. The translator of Manlio Argueta, however, is currently a graduate student in Columbia University.

Up to the present time, Yuan Lü (遠流), Kuang-Fu (光復), Yün-Chen (允晨), the big publishers in the Republic of China, all following the steps of Shin-Chao (新潮) publishing company, set

their goals in publishing a series of Chinese editions of the most celebrated world masterpieces, including numerous volumes of Latin American novels. The chief editor of Kuang-Fu editions, Yin-Cheng Chen (陳映真) has suggested in the Preface to the collection:

the consciousness of the people in Taiwan has been seriously permeated by the cultures of powerful countries like USA, Great Britain, Germany and France, and we tend to do critical evaluations according to the criteria set by these cultures.

She affirms, furthermore, "with their original style and structure, the literature of Latin America have presented their concepts about the universe, human dignity and values of existence. . . . Their literatures have become a new force motivating us to perceive the essence of humanity and have a better understanding of the whole world."³ Within the last two years, the published Chinese versions of Latin American literatures have reached twelve volumes, the titles of which include *Jorge Luis Borges*, *Juan Rulfo*, *Manlio Argueta*, *Garcia Marquez* (by Kuang-Fu publishers), *El amor en los tiempos del colera*, *La tia Julia y el escribidor*, and *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* (Yun Chen publishers). The myth-like masterpiece of Garcia Marquez, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, translated into Chinese by the distinguished translator Nai-Tung Yang (楊耐冬), when published six years ago for the first time, provoked a literary earthquake throughout the colleges and universities in Taiwan. Reading groups organized by students dedicated themselves to the discussions of the novel, and the short reviews of Garcia Marquez's other novels and short stories appeared at the astound-

ing rate in newspapers and magazines. The publishers of this version has already sold out the copies of seven editions; according to the sales of Yun-Chen Publishers, the Chinese version of *El amor en los tiempos del colera* has been one of the leading best-sellers in Taiwan and ten thousand copies of this title were gone within one and a half years from 1988 to Fall 1989. Just because the accolades were immediate and profuse, however, "Even some newspapers misreported," as Yin-Hsueh Hu's (胡映雪) investigation, "that Garcia Marquez is a hero of Latin American literati, who stays solitarily in the jungles of South America to create a magical and imaginative world with his own imagination" (72).

The overwhelming popularity of Latin American writers has been confirmed by booksellers; critics and scholars have also endorsed the aesthetic qualities and lasting values of these masterpieces. Generally Latin American literatures have been received with particular favor by three groups: students, and casual readers, professional writers and translators as well as academic scholars. For the first group of readers Latin American literatures are apparently something new and interesting. For the professional writers and translators, the literary techniques such as symbols, imagery, especially form and structure are the most significant elements, with which the former attempt to have a breakthrough in writing skills and the latter take the responsibility to introduce. For the critics and scholars, however, Latin American literatures are almost a gold mine for research, and a good sample for offering suggestions and warning against the current conservative Taiwanese literature. Yuan-Huang Tsai (蔡源煌), a professor of English at National Taiwan

university, has indicated, "our writers were groping subconsciously for a new direction, but unfortunately they did not succeed much.... Judged from the traces of recent literary works, a new turning point has already emerged" (198). Professor Tsai reaffirms that Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is one of the few Nobel recognized masterpieces which influenced Taiwanese literati (199). Leo Ou-Fan Lee, currently a professor at Chicago University also suggests in his essay:

China is not without talented writers; unfortunately, since the movement of May Fourth, our people either condemn our cultural heritage or castigate the consciousness underlying in our tradition; the result is that even a writer talented as Lao She (老舍) was not able to portray a big family. Though Tuan-Mu Re-Liang is somehow a figure like Garcia Marquez, he still lacks of a sense of ontological vision" (10)

For Professor Lee, the *ontological* refers to writer's perception of his world and tradition, and *vision* means profound insight into his own society and history (10). Professor Lee also acclaims that in the Chinese literary history, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is the most significant novel embodied with all these elements.

I have already suggested that professional writers are one of the groups of people fascinated with Latin American literatures. She-Tao Yieh (葉石濤), a professional critic, in his recent-published book *Approaching Taiwanese Literature* offers his commentation:

Each writer of the young generation seems to be a little cosmos, but the direction of their creative tendency can be traced. Among them the avant-courier with international features are

Huang Fan (黃凡), Chang Ta-Chuen (張大春) as well as Tung Nien (董年), Chang Kuei-Hsin (張貴興) and Lin Yiao-Teh (林耀德).... Although their works take roots in Taiwan, the way for their expression is somewhat surrealistic and the subconsciousness is presented with magical quality (199).

Indeed their writings are highly experimental for the Chinese readers since the fusion of the real and the fantastic is always present, the themes and language are constantly developed on overlapping temporal and psychological planes, and facts as well as memories, furthermore, flow together to create a new perspective of reality, which exists beyond all limits to achieve a magical unity of events. In Chang Ta-Chuen's short story "The Feathers of Chickens" for example, the fluttering shadows seem to be the beheaded cocks and chickens, and the general in "General's Tombstone" travels through present, past and future; Wu Ching-Fa's intimidated and melancholy small people practice "head-shrunk" kungfu in his short story "The Tortoise." Wu's approach to irony as a stylistic device is based on the tortoise symbol, and the most interesting part lies in the frame-work — at the very beginning of the story the protagonist is soaping around his neck, finding his head shrunk into his chest and at the end of it the author himself is presented in front of a mirror soaping around his own neck.⁴ The symbolism inherent in the special kungfu exemplifies man's bewilderment, frustration and timidity in the modern society; the introduction of the fantastic, however, plus the doppleganger motif and "fable-telling" technique reminds the readers of the great Latin American writer Jorge Luis Borges. Ping Lu's Master Hao, preaching and meditating, delineating and

imagining a harmonious world for his disciples is almost another devoted magician in Borges's "The Circular Ruins": the difference lies in the fact that Borges's magician trying to dream another man into existence discover himself is the dream of another, while in Ping Lu, the Buddhist master endeavors to perceive nirvana only to be frustrated since the imagined and worshipped world is only a corner of the whole which however is impossible to grasp.

Latin American literature, especially the magic realism has swept over Taiwan in the last few year and the influenced writers are numerous, but the whole situation has been described in Yieh She-Tao's reflective commentation: "Their works are obscure and difficult to comprehend; they are avangarts which transcend our contemporary literary atmosphere and it is very hard to find a niche for them in our literary history" (199).

Academic scholars are always a group of people observing and recording the change of currents of Chinese literature in Taiwan promoting and recounting the appreciation of world literature by the Chinese. William Tay, Leo Ou-Fan Lee and Teh-Wei Wang belong to this group. Except for interviewing some masters of world literatures, Professor William Tay was on advisory board for some publishers. Since these professors take the responsibility of introducing to Chinese readers world masterpieces, short reviews can be seen frequently on newspapers and magazines; the novels which have been reviewed include those by Garcia Marquez, Borges, Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes, Juan Rulfo and others. Again Garcia Marquez is the first they pay attention to. Before the publication of the Chinese version of *El amor en los*

tiempos del colera, the young critic from Taiwan Teh-Wei Wang (王德威) had already mediated upon the greatness of the novelist:

It seems that Garcia Marquez never forgets his Latin American experience; the spiritual tortures, complicated passion, incredible and almost mythlike atmosphere. . . . all imply the nature of his tradition. In *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, there is an unavoidable but everlasting human tragedy, but in *The Love at the Time of Cholera* Garcia Marquez seems to be suddenly enlightened to perceive another "myth of life" — love, because of which one hundred years of solitude eventually find their comfort; love, indeed, is an emblem of the regeneration of humanity" (189).

Except for Garcia Marquez, Borges is the most celebrated contemporary Latin American writer in the Republic of China, Scholars like Yuan-Huang Tsai, Whai-Tung Pong (彭淮棟), Hsuan-Hung Wu (王軒宏) and Chang-Fang Chen (陳長房) all take great interests in the pioneer of magic realism; they either participate in translating and reviewing Borges for magazines and newspapers or involve Latin American literatures in their lectures. In Taiwan, the most discussed topics about Borges are the uses of other, repetition, animal imagery and modernism, but comparative studies focused on Borges are comparatively rare. Chuen-Chieh Yu, a previous major in Spanish literature and the translator of totally nineteen essays and stories by Borges, has devoted a research on the philosophical ideas as implied in Borges. Borges's achievement, as Yu suggests, lies in his intelligence, his wealth of invention and his tight almost mathematical style (11). Borges is indeed a philosophical writer whose sources are innumerable and

unexpected, and even related to Taoism, Buddhism and the essence of the Japanese haiku. According to Yu, he loves to capture the symbols of circle, mirror, repetition, and double and in "Borges and I", Yu says "We can almost see another story of Chuang-Tzu and butterfly" (11). Indeed, when Borges with his Gnostic vision gazes into the mirror of the fallen and chaotic world, when he presents the gnostic balance of good and evil in himself, and when he exemplifies the metaphor of life as sleep or dream, he almost bridges the distance between East and West.

Comparatively the fictional world of Juan Rulfo, Carlos Fuentes and Manlio Argueta seems to be one of reduction and denial, similar to the "native literature" (鄉土文學) of Taiwan. All of these writers elaborate around the theme of power and its tragic consequences, and all of the three manifest conflicts in the progress of social change. Cortazar once said, most of the great literature in the world implies a dream of paradise, and indeed these writers have presupposed a lost paradise that reflects human achievements. The nightmare of suffering founded upon the violent existence in the slums, despair, and wordless protest of these repressed people reflect their agonized desire for a Utopian world. The masterpieces like *Pedro Para*, *Hopscotch*, *Paradiso*, and short stories like "Two Pesoes of Rain" by Juan Bosch, "The Beheaded Chicken" by Horacio Quiroga, "The Road to Santiago" by Alejo Carpentier echo with the struggling of unfortunate people as reflected in the "native literature" of Taiwan, in which poverty, conflicts between the rich and the poor, the oppressor and the oppressed as well as the war between the Chinese and Japanese were the predominant themes and motifs.

Although in Taiwan, such brilliant writers like Rulfo, Carlos Fuentes and some others comparatively have not received the attention they deserve, yet their concerns about moral dissolution of the universe, man's frustrated expectations and commiseration are all manifested in their fiction with the subtle touch which has transcended national boundaries in a metaphysical sense.

II

The second part of this paper is an examination of some features shared by the mentioned Latin American writers and the writers of the Chinese tradition. The focuses are on Borges, magic realism and related dream structure and motif, and the purpose is to reveal the reason why magic realism and dream structure as used in Latin American literatures are so prevalent in R.O.C. The study will also provide an explanation for the nostalgic attitude of the Chinese scholars in appreciating Latin American literatures.

Two years ago *Unit Monthly* 聯合文學 devoted a special volume to the genre magic realism; the translated short stories with short introduction are selected from Miguel Angel Astruias's *Legends of Guatemala*, Juan Carlos Onetti's "A Dream Came True" as well as the stories from Juan Jose Orreola and Luisa Valenzuela. The editors of this issue also contribute to the definition of the term (201). What is "magical realism"? According to Raymond Williams, the German art critic Franz Roh coined the term in 1925 as "a magic insight into reality, which revealed the mysterious elements hidden in everyday reality" (77); magic realism, furthermore, "expressed man's astonishment before the wonders of the real world" (77). Therefore, magic realism is a

blend of reality and fantasy: *The Kingdom of this World* by Carpentier, *Men of Maize* by Asturias and *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Garcia Marquez are all the best examples of this genre. Garcia Marquez's Remedio the beauty, for example, depicted as a real person, flies into the sky with a blanket, and the characters in the same novel return from death — the incredible things happen but they are not presented in a fantastic way, since the fantastic is a direct reversal of ground rules and its characters are always caught in a "fantastic occurrence" as suggested by Eric S. Rabkin in *The Fantastic in Literature* (14-5). Garcia Marquez, however, deals with these happenings as if they are commonplace; the result is an "other reality" beyond the bounds of normal, objective perception.

As I have suggested, the Chinese readers are not unfamiliar with magic realism. Professor Leo Ou-Fan Lee has questioned in his essay entitled "Two Testimonies in World Literature" that "Isn't there in our Chinese literature the tradition of magic realism?" (11). According to Professor Lee the classical stories of the Wei and Chin Dynasties and the legendary tales of the Tang Dynasty are close to the magic realism, but they still are different: "The difference between the Chinese 'gothic' and magic realism lies in the *mysteriousness*, which has to be fused with reality in the latter genre" (11). The readers, therefore, will be able to perceive the *shadow* of the *past* through the presentation of the *present*. In other words, through the depiction of the Gothic elements only, the writer might be able to lead his readers to experience an illusion, but not necessarily the world of the "magic" and "mysterious," which level, according to

Professor Lee, can be achieved only through the "deep structure" of cultural consciousness and writer's independent thought and wealthy knowledge (11). Professor Lee also suggests that the fusion of the realistic and the fantastic exists in the masterpiece of the Chinese Ching Dynasty *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

A well-known critic Ping-Po Yu in 1953 had already emphasized the idealistic elements of the Takuanyuan, the place where the actions of the novel center upon: "Takuanyuan was a paradisiacal mirage conjured by the author Tsao Hsueh-Chin (272-73, qut from Yu Ying-She Garcia Marquez's Macondo is in a sense a type of biblical paradise where innocence abounds (Williams, 75) and similarly:

Takuanyuan is a garden that isolate the girls from the outside world, whereby it is hoped that the girls would lead carefree and leisurely lives and avoid being polluted by the filthy influence of the other sex . . . In this sense Takuanyuan can be said to be a protective fortress for the girls which exists only in the ideal realm but has no foundation in reality (Yu, 264)

In Chinese literature, the fusion of the real and the fantastic is usually presented through dreams; in Chapter 5 of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* when the protagonist Pao-Yu experiences his sexual initiation in the Land of Illusion, the whole atmosphere is like a state between awake and dream, which fact even the protagonist is not able to recognize. Furthermore, the girl whom Pao-Yu falls in love with is one unusually fond of weeping, being an incarnation of a grateful plant Chiang-Chu Tsao while Pao-yü himself is unusually naive and innocent; both characters have transcend-

ed the quality of being realistic.

Although in traditional Chinese literature there is not a genre or technique which is totally equivalent to the magic realism as propounded in Latin American literatures, Chinese's love of dreams and the mysterious quality exemplifies itself in all literary genres of every and each dynasty, and moreover, the love of dreams and the mysterious manifests in the reception of Latin American literature. As I have already indicated in my dissertation *Dream and Drama* that early categories of dreamlore in China are very similar to those of Microbius, a thirteen century interpreter of dreams.⁵ Generally writers of East and West deal with dreams from two perspectives; one is taking dreams as actual experience and the other, taking dreams as metaphor. Dreams in literature can be a reflection of reality, a review of the past, or an anticipation of the future. Dreams at the highest form are the aspirations for the ideal, or the pacification of the soul, and at the lowest, the illusions created by nightmares. Some dreamlands in Chinese literature represent Utopian worlds and some like the dream literatures of the western world — *Perkin Warbeck*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Commedia* and *La vida es sueno* as well as *Don Quixote* — signify the life-dream equation and philosophical meanings of existence. In Chinese literature, the dream as a technique unifying an entire philosophy of life is embodied in, as I have suggested above, the great 18th century fiction *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. One of the most philosophical and the most recited dream-works, however, is Chuang-Tzu's butterfly dream:

One night I dreamed I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, content with my lot. Suddenly I awoke and I

was Chuang Tzu again. Who am I in reality? A butterfly dreaming that I am Chuang Tzu or Chuang Tzu imagining he was a butterfly? (*The Oxford Book of Dreams*, 254)

Jose Miguel Oviedo has investigated the dream quality in Borges: "He sees the poem as an instrument which can restore to us that mysterious vibration of the original word, a word which can stay the tide of time and defeated death" (127). Indeed Borges himself has meditated upon the relationship between dream and poetry: "Poetry is a mysterious chess, whose board and pieces change as if in a dream . . . literature is nothing more than a directed dream" (*OC*, 1022) Borges's use of dream or dream-like imagery is pervious; he seems to be convinced that every man's reality has a profound oneiric nature that the distinction between waking and sleeping was only illusory (Emir Rodriguez-Monogal, 136). From the "Circular Ruins" to the "South", Borges presents with utmost subtlety and metaphysical hypothesis the life-dream equation and the abysmal experience of feeling oneself unreal. Borges's two best-known contributions to the art of the narrative — the illusory Chinese box technique and the setting of fantasy world reflecting earthly reality — are among the primary reasons for Borges's popularity in Taiwan. In Chinese literature, the dream-within-a-dream framework has been employed in the most significant masterpieces such as *Hsi-Yu Pu* (西遊補), *Mu-Tan Ting* (*The Peony Pavilion*, 牡丹亭), *Ching Hwa Yuan* (*Flowers in the Mirror*, 鏡花緣); the setting of fantasy world reflecting earthly reality manifests almost all the voyage literature of the world.

Except for the features mentioned

above, Borges attracts his Oriental readers with a kind of Zen quality and an ecstasy of *otherness*, which motif is also intertwined with magic realism often. William Barnstone examines "ekstasis" in an essay on Borges:

The Greek word *ekstasis* signifies "being or standing elsewhere" that is, a displacement from a condition of stasis. The early classical meaning is bewilderment seizure, anger, terror, reflecting a movement from the ordinary to the extraordinary, from a normal to an "altered state," from being self-contained and standing in oneself (enstasis) to standing elsewhere (ekstasis) (135).

Willis Barnstone suggests that Borges's ecstasy is that of otherness, a movement from Borges to the *yo*, from a public man to a private dreamer. (136). Reading Borges, therefore, the readers are witnessing the transformation of the spirit, which fact results from "ultimate transcendence" (136). As a matter of fact, the ultimate transcendence defined by Barnstone is close to Chuang Tzu's "Eternal Laws of Nature" (Chi Wu Lun). Professor Hsi-Ren Fu has made this explicit:

The situation is really interesting — Chuang-Tzu transforms into a butterfly and a butterfly to Chuang Tzu — this is the transformation of beings, which presents a phenomenon through eternal truth. Many people in the world regard phenomenon as truth, which is wrong because they insist upon the fact of a phenomenon and miss the truth of eternal law. The beings in the universe transform; each transformed being is equal to the previous one. Therefore, Chuang-Tzu could become a butterfly and a butterfly could become Chung-Tzu (\$\$).

In this case, butterfly is the "other" of

Chuang-Tzu, and even anything could become an "other", since "the ten thousand things that I among them are but one being (Walley, 9). The transformation of beings is not limited by time or space. Borges once confessed his experience of being total "otherness": "In my life I only had two mystical experiences and I can't tell them because what happened is not to be put into words . . . I had a feeling of living not in time but outside of time" (*Borges at Eighty*) The notion of oblivion and ineffability associate with mystical transport, which as Willis Barnstone said, "Reading Borges, we are at least prepared to witness the transformation of the spirit or . . . to be alerted to the possibility of ultimate transcendence (136). It is the ultimate transcendence that is close to the notion of universal law.

Among the key ideas shared by Chuang-Tzu and Borges is the concept of the universe as a vast, total oneness in which individuality is but an illusion. Arthur Walley in his *Three Ways of Ancient China* interprets Chuang-Tzu's attitude towards death is a "part of a general attitude towards the universal law of nature, which is one not merely of resignation nor even of acquiescence, but a lyrical almost ecstatic acceptance" (30). And Chuang Tzu himself said so: "In the beginning we lack not life but form, not form but only spirit. We are blended in the one great indistinguishable mass. Then . . . the mass evolved spirit, spirit evolved form, form evolved life" (Walley, 6) Just because Chuang-Tzu equalizes every and each being in the universe, his compassion is transcendental and in this way he is able to talk with autumnal water and debate with skull; in this case, a man is not his self, but essentially others, and the individuality is

but a form which does not last. Borges's short stories like "Story of the Warrior and the Captive," "The Aleph," and "Death and the Compass" all manifest the similar notion.

In Borges, the world is seen as the divine dream and what we take as reality is only one of the projections of the universal dream. Mirrors, "a spectral duplication or multiplication of reality," (Borges, "The Draped Mirrors") or an unending repetition, represent everlasting transformation and in another sense an unmeasurable and interminable labyrinth. Borges's images of mirror and labyrinth let us perceive the timid yearning of a quester, and contemplate more about the meaning of existence, which theme and mirror images are embodied in the Chinese fictional work, *Hsi Yu Pu*. In *Hsi Yu Pu*, the protagonist Monkey, in order to penetrate into the truth, plunges himself into a castle of mirrors.

Borges's narratives are intellectual games about an infinite and delusive universe, in which the recurring patterns of experiences mirror the images of ourselves. Indeed, Borges and his work resist classification. Except for the qualities shared with Chinese literature, we can find Ultraism, Schopenhauer, Descartes, Kafka and even Hindu Vedantism in him; by means of his symbolism and metaphor, Borges has presented a mystic quality in his vision of reality and a unifying concept of the universe. His cognizance of the contradic-

tion between the good and the evil and ultimate transcendence as well has imbued his works with Oriental quality, and has profoundly impressed his readers in Taiwan.

III

Alfredo Roggiano, when praising the achievement of the book entitled *Literary Currents in Hispanic America*, indicates that "culture, in any given moment of history, has both transitory and permanent values. The former characterizes epochs and establishes the conditions of a period; the latter concerns the eternity of man and his creations" (*Modern Latin American Literatures*, 190-91). Although there exists the fact that Latin America has shared a common history with Europe, it does not preordain the failure of the New World, since its people have presented in literature from their spiritual depth and native energy, which are the permanent values of their culture. How could Latin American literature attract audience from the whole world and how could the people from different countries feel affinity with them? A possible explanation may be found in the fact that we human beings in every part of the world share very similar fears, hopes, sorrow and happiness. Now that the essence of literature is timeless and universal, a writer once attains it, the achievement has no ending.

1. The selection from Jorge Luis Borges is entitled "The Lottery in Babylon". See *Anthology of World Masterpieces*, Vol. 2.
2. Fifty students participated in the survey which was conducted in 1989.
3. Yin-Cheng Chen's Preface appears in each volume of the collection.

4. All these short stories are collected in *Contemporary Chinese Literature* (中華現代文學大系), 1970-1989, ed. by Kuang-Chung Yu (余光中) published by Chio-Ke Publishers, 1989.
5. Ambrosius Macrobius, *Commentary of the Dreams of Scipio*, trans. by W. H. Stahl, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 87-88.

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Confucian Jurisprudence: Beyond Natural Law

R.P. Peerenboom

The standard portrayal of Chinese jurisprudence has it that Chinese law is, with an allowance for the positive law of what has become known as the Legalist school (Fa Jia), by and large Confucian natural law.¹ A prominent representative of this view, Joseph Needham, noting the consensus among modern Chinese jurists, declares:

The Legalists laid all their emphasis on positive law, which was to be the pure will of the lawgiver . . . As against this the Confucians adhered to the body of ancient custom, usage and ceremonial, which . . . unnumbered generations of Chinese people had instinctively felt to be right - this was the *li* (禮), and we may equate it with natural law.²

I would like to challenge the traditional account of Confucianism as natural law. As an ethical system, Confucianism relies on the judgment of exemplary persons to realize a harmonious social order by determining what is appropriate in a given context rather than by appeal to universal ethical principles or a pre-determined natural or moral order. Thus understood, Confucian jurisprudence shares more with coherence theories such as Ronald Dworkin's interpretive theory of the law as integrity than it does with

classical natural law doctrines.³

In part one, I develop the distinction between foundational natural law, Dworkin's coherence theory of the law as integrity and legal positivism. In parts two, three and four, I examine in turn the jurisprudence of Confucius, Mencius and Xun Zi in light of this conceptual framework. In part five, I conclude with a brief statement of the sociopolitical as well as legal consequences which flow from Confucian coherence jurisprudence.

I. Natural Law

To assess the orthodox interpretation of Confucianism as natural law, we must first determine, as far as possible, what constitutes natural law. This is not as straightforward as one might suppose. The natural law tradition is extremely heterogeneous, arguably embracing such unlikely bedfellows as Plato, Hamurabi, Mohammed, Aquinas, Hobbes, Kant as well as Confucius, Han Fei and Shang Yang. In order to clarify what I intend by natural law, it may be helpful not only to examine key features of natural law theory as construed by contemporary jurists, but to contrast it with other philosophies of law such as legal positivism and Dworkin's interpretive

account of the law as integrity.

A fundamental tenet of natural law theory is that there is a necessary relation between law and morality.⁴ Advocates of natural law take exception to the positivists' notion that "what pleases the prince has the force of law."⁵ They do not believe that one is obligated to obey the law simply because it is the will of a sovereign or sovereign body that has the power to enforce it. Nor do they allow that such an obligation is generated solely on the grounds that certain specified institutional procedures were followed in legislating the law.⁶ There need to be, they contend, some ethical or rational reasons underlying our laws and our obligation to obey the law; hence their rallying cry: "an unjust law is no law at all."⁷

More specifically, these reasons which justify the law, create an obligation to obey the law, or simply account for the nature and origin of the law, are foundational reasons. To clarify the foundational nature of natural law arguments, it is instructive to first contrast it with an alternative methodology, that of coherence, as exemplified in the works of John Rawls and Joel Feinberg.⁸

For Rawls and Feinberg, the objective of the ethical reasoning process is to achieve an equilibrium between one's judgments and one's personally and communally held moral beliefs or intuitions.⁹ Coherence theories aim to make one's system or web of beliefs coherent by bringing one's ethical judgments into line with one's intuitions. They are non-foundational in that no belief is privileged as most basic or fundamental. There are no first principles which serve as the foundation upon which to build up an edifice of moral argument, no axiomatic moral truths from which

one spins out a moral system through deduction or formal logical argument.

To justify one's position, one simply appeals to other beliefs in the web. There are no claims that one's beliefs correspond to objective reality, that one's theory "cuts at the joints of nature," that one's ethical principles correspond to objectively true principles existing in Nature or Platonic Heaven or some other non-human realm. Were someone to challenge one's beliefs, one could bring forth arguments and reasons which one believes to be persuasive in hopes of convincing the other person. But there are no guarantees of resolution. The conversation could continue until agreement is reached or break off with the parties agreeing to disagree. As Feinberg observes, foundational philosophers are likely to object to this approach:

They will find no semblance of a complete moral system, no reduction of moral derivatives to moral primitives, no grounding of ultimate principles in self-evident truths, or in 'the nature of man,' the commandments of God, or the dialectic of history . . . [One may] appeal . . . to all kinds of reasons normally produced in practical discourse, from efficiency and utility to fairness, coherence, and human rights. But I make no effort to derive some of these reasons from others, or to rank them in terms of their degree of basicness.¹⁰

While coherence theorists look to all kinds of reasons to make their case — from pragmatic considerations of efficiency and utility to intuitions to contextual considerations such as existing customs and political structures — natural law theorists seek to base their arguments and their ethical system on firmer foundations.

Natural law is often grounded in some ultimate source of value which is beyond

further questioning; it is derived from some transcendent order¹¹ or first principles which determine the human order and are discovered by humans, not created by them to suit their purposes or to bring coherence to their system of beliefs. Natural law, unlike conventional or positive law, is often held to be universal and immutable; it does not change from context to context as the particular beliefs, customs and social institutions change.¹² Natural law is often the language of privileged vocabularies, of final vocabularies; it is the language of the Absolute Good, of Inalienable Rights, Divine Commandments and Categorical Imperatives.¹³

To illustrate the foundational dimension of natural law, we can isolate four main varieties though in practice they often overlap. The first is divine law. One is obligated to obey the law because it is the command of God. Islamic law is a good example, as is Judaism in which God reveals the law to Moses. It is foundational in that the laws are the direct commands of a transcendent deity who represents an ultimate source of value. Having discovered it to be the word of God, it is unnecessary and indeed fruitless to continue asking for further justification. Needham, along with many others, has correctly observed that the organismic cosmology of pre-Qin Chinese philosophers allows no room for such a transcendent divine law-maker.¹⁴

The laws of nature are a second prominent basis for natural law. As Needham pointed out above, natural law and the laws of nature go back to a common root in many Western traditions. This attempt to ground law in the universal and immutable laws of the natural order, he argues, never occurred in China. While

I have disputed this claim elsewhere, arguing that Huang-Lao thought as represented in the *Huang-Lao Boshu* discovered at Mawangdui does indeed ground its theory of natural law in the objective laws of nature,¹⁵ I do agree that the laws of nature do not serve as a foundation for Confucianism's alleged natural law.

A third approach attempts to provide rational grounds for law and legal obligations by deriving them from "pure reason" or from first principles which are self-evident, (or at least self-evident given some account of human nature, social organization or morality).¹⁶ A recent version of this type of natural law theory is that of John Finnis who maintains that theories of natural law are "theories about the rational foundations for moral judgment."¹⁷ As he sees it, "principles of natural law explain the obligatory force ... of positive laws, even when those laws cannot be deduced from those principles" (pp. 23-4). Rather than relying on strict rational deduction of laws from moral principles, Finnis bases his natural law on "principles of practical reasonableness that call for co-operative life in the wide 'political' community, and for the authority that alone makes life practicable" (p. 251). A system of laws becomes morally justified on the grounds that it is necessary to make social living possible.

Finnis' theory is supported by two pillars: First, "a set of basic practical principles which indicate the basic forms of human flourishing as goods to be pursued and realized." These "basic goods" are, we are told, self-evident. Secondly, "a set of basic methodological requirements of practical reasonableness ... which distinguish sound from

unsound practical thinking and which . . . provide the criteria for distinguishing between . . . ways of acting that are morally right or morally wrong" (p. 23). Finnis' system is foundational in the sense that it starts from axiomatic assumptions about rationality, rational rules and human nature and then builds a case for law and legal obligations on that basis. While he attempts to diminish the foundational nature of his project by appealing to "practical reasoning," what he means by this is something far different from the pragmatic practical reasoning of most coherence theorists:

By 'practical' . . . I do not mean 'workable' as opposed to unworkable, efficient as opposed to inefficient; I mean 'with a view to decision and action.' Practical thinking is thinking about what (one ought) to do (p. 12).

The underlying belief is still that legal and moral principles are rationally discoverable, and that these then generate morally obligatory rules of conduct: "If anything can be said to be required by or contrary to natural law, then everything that is morally . . . i.e. reasonably . . . required to be done is required by natural law" (p. 127). Once we determine — based on Finnis' indemonstrable, self-evident basic goods — what is reasonable, we know what our moral and hence legal duty is.

Two additional points may be made about this third type of natural law theory. First, such theories are often teleological in that laws are held to be morally justifiable if they promote, or at least accord with, our nature or end as human beings, hence their description as "natural" laws. Finnis, for instance, ties what is reasonable and *a fortiori* moral/legal to basic goods which are forms of "human flourishing". More

concretely, some maintain, as did Aquinas, that the purpose of sexual activity is procreation. Thus laws prohibiting sexual activity between homosexuals or the use of birth control devices in sexual activity gain support on grounds that they violate our natural ends.¹⁸

Secondly, theories of this type are called "natural" in that knowledge of the laws is often held to be acquired through special "natural" human faculties — through sensation and reason, as with Locke, for example. Similarly for Aquinas humans have an innate disposition — *synderesis* — to grasp the percepts of natural law.¹⁹ By using our innate faculties and capacities — usually not shared with animals — we humans are somehow able to discover natural laws.

The epistemological assumption that our minds mirror nature is the central form of foundationalism criticized by Rorty, as well as by Donagan who deems it the Fallacy of the Naturally Given:

Knowledge is either of the sort of entity naturally suited to be immediately present to consciousness, or of entities whose existence and properties are entailed by entities of the first sort.²⁰

The assumption is that because our minds naturally perceive the world to be a certain way, the world is indeed that way. Or, to relate it more directly to natural law, it is the assumption that because we are led by our reason (as with Locke) or innate dispositions (as with Aquinas) to hold certain laws to be true or naturally valid, they are indeed so.

To attempt to justify natural laws by appeal to a special relation between the person and the object known — i.e. the natural laws — is, however, to elide a causal explanation of how one came to

have the belief with a justification for that belief. As Wilfrid Sellars points out, "in characterizing an episode or a state as that of knowing, we are not giving an empirical description of that episode or state; we are placing it in the logical space of reasons, of justifying and being able to justify what one says."²¹ To state that you have grasped by innate disposition that abortion is illicit explains why you have that belief in the sense of how you came to hold it, but it does not justify it.

While I believe the Rorty-Sellars critique seriously undermines the foundations of natural law doctrines, I do not intend to pursue this further in that it is not my purpose here to attack or defend natural law theories *per se*. Rather I am interested in challenging the claim that Confucianism represents natural law. For this, it is necessary to consider one final foundation for natural law: ethics.

Natural law is commonly defended on moral grounds: the law reflects fundamental ethical principles which we are obligated to obey. It is foundational to the extent that these principles are not justified on pragmatic grounds, as reasonable in light of one's particular context, goals, web of beliefs, but rather are seen as self-evident or to reflect some ultimate value which cannot be compromised or questioned. Some argue, for instance, that abortion should be illegal because it violates a fundamental moral principle — the taking of (innocent) life — which is never permissible.

Indeed it is often asserted that it is the linkage of law with ethics that distinguishes natural law from legal positivism.²² But this assertion stands in need of clarification. It is true that for many, H.L.A. Hart among them, a defining trait of legal positivism is

captured in the minimum separation thesis: "the simple contention that it is in no sense a necessary truth that laws reproduce or satisfy certain demands of morality."²³ But to insist that the law reflect some consideration of ethical matters need not make one a natural law proponent. The choice is not simply either legal positivism or natural law.

Ronald Dworkin's interpretive theory of the law as integrity provides a middle ground.²⁴ It requires the judge interpret the law in a way which makes the law the best it can be. For Dworkin, this means that the judge must make the law coherent in principle, so far as possible. In doing so, she must give due consideration to the ethical issues of justice, fairness, due process and political integrity (the demand that the law be made consistent with past rulings and decisions).

While ethical concerns play a prominent role in Dworkin's theory, their role is not a foundational one. Justice, fairness, due process and political integrity are to be brought into an equilibrium. No one of them is privileged as the most basic. It is the duty of the judge to balance them in light of the particular circumstances. It may be that concern for fairness outweighs the need for due process, or that justice must be traded off to secure political integrity. In the end, what justifies a particular law or legal decision is not some correspondence to fundamental moral principles, but that in the eyes of the judge the decision reflects the best balance of the various concerns, all things considered.²⁵

No doubt much remains to be said about natural law, legal positivism and Dworkin's coherence theory of law as integrity. Enough has been said, however, for our present purpose: to demonstrate

that Confucian law is best understood in terms of a coherence theory of law rather than as natural law.²⁶

II. Confucius and Natural Law

Most who attribute to Confucius a natural law position do so on ethical grounds. They point out that *contra* the Legalists, Confucians insist on a necessary relation between law and morality, thus rejecting the minimum separation thesis characteristic of legal positivism. Needham, for instance, contends:

[In the Han], law again became ... firmly embedded in ethics and successive emperors ... justified their mandates by invoking natural law, i.e. norms of behavior universally considered moral — in fact, *li* 禮 — and not positive law.²⁷

Bodde and Morris add,

The *li* derive their universal validity from the fact that they were created by the intelligent sages of antiquity in conformity with human nature and with the cosmic order. Legalist law has no moral validity because it is merely the ad hoc creation of modern men who wish by means of it to generate political power.²⁸

However, as noted earlier, natural law advocates are not alone in rejecting the minimum separation thesis. Dworkinian coherence theorists also posit a necessary role for ethical considerations in the legal process. What on Needham, Bodde and Morris' reading forces Confucius away from the context-specific approach of the coherence position and into the historical foundational natural law camp is their suggestion that Confucians ground their laws in universal ethical principles.

But are the *li* best understood as

universal moral principles cum laws which conform to a predetermined cosmic moral order? Or are they customary norms which have been developed within a particular historical tradition and which constitute not unchanging, determinant rules of behavior but culturally valued, though negotiable, guidelines for achieving harmony in a particular context? I suggest the latter.²⁹

To treat the *li* as universal principles is to render them static and determinate in a way which is incompatible not only with the spirit but the words of Confucius. To be sure the standard view takes Confucius to be "a prosaic and parochial moralizer," a conservative apologist for the Zhou dynasty who insists on rigid conformity to arcane ritual practices.³⁰ But Confucius, in sharp contrast to this unflattering portrayal, depicts himself as open-minded and tolerant. He claims that he is unlike others in that he is without fixed principles or presuppositions (18:8).³¹ And on numerous occasions in the *Analects*, we find Confucius not only evidencing considerable flexibility, but speaking out on its behalf.³² In fact, he does so specifically with respect to the *li*:

A ceremonial cap of linen is what is prescribed by the rites. Today black silk is used instead. This is more frugal and hence I follow the general practice. To prostrate oneself before ascending the steps is what is prescribed by the rites. Nowadays, the practice is to bow after ascending the steps. This is presumptuous and hence I do not follow the majority but continue to bow before ascending (9:3).

Far from immutable laws of the cosmic order, the *li* are historically contingent norms to be changed when circumstances merit it. That does not mean they are to

be altered at the drop of a ceremonial cap. Change must be justified. There must be good (coherent) reasons. The normative force of the *li* is after all derived in part from their being the amassed wisdom of the ages: "there is no doubt that the ultimate solemnity of which rite is capable, the deep, archaic response it evokes in men's soul, are never present insofar as any pattern of conduct or gesture is felt to be new, invented, or utilitarian."³³

But the *li* are important not merely because they are old or reflect the insights of the sages of yesteryear. Their main function is to serve in times of crisis as a common ground on which to reconstruct a harmonious social order.

Yu Zi said, 'As for the function of the rites, harmony is the most valuable . . . If harmony is not modulated by the rites, it too will be impracticable' (1:12).

When there is a breakdown in the social order, we turn to the *li* as the communally owned treasury of shared meaning and value. We are inextricably a part of our tradition. However different we may be, there are still deep chords of affinity which bind us together as a result of our shared tradition. By tapping the areas of commonality, one may be able to find the ground upon which to build a consensus, to forge a new harmony. It is the *li* which provide this common starting point for Confucius.

As Needham and Bodde themselves, somewhat contradictorily, acknowledge, the *li* are customary: they are the particular mores, values and guidelines for human interaction in a particular society at a particular time which must be constantly interpreted and re-appropriated to fit the changing situa-

tion.³⁴

As his remarkable proclamation — "It is humans who extend the Way (dao), not the Way which extends humans" (15:29) — indicates, Confucius is primarily interested in possibilities for achievement, not in predetermined constraints imposed on mankind be they the laws of nature or human nature.³⁵ He is not concerned with complying with a preestablished pattern or in constructing society according to some ethical blueprint, but in fostering the highest quality of harmony out of the particulars at hand. His is an emergent order which, in requiring interpretation and appropriation of the *li* in light of the particular circumstances, is incompatible with the construal of the *li* as universally valid principles which one need simply apply or mimic. As he puts it, "Surely when one says, 'The rites, the rites,' it is not enough merely to mean presents of jade and silk" (17:11).

One must do more than mimic the forms; one must come to embody the qualitative excellence, the virtue, which they represent. It is the authoritative — not authoritarian — person (*ren zhe* 仁者) who is able to appreciate the excellence and make it his own, to appropriate it and give expression to it in his own way and in light of his own particular circumstances. One must make the *li* significant, and in so doing, the authoritative person himself becomes a source of meaning and value for the society; he authors society through his ability to inspire others to participate in the realization of a higher quality of life and social harmony.

Indeed it is the need to interpret the *li* to size up the situation not in accordance with any universal principles or publicly stated laws, but on the basis of one's ethical-cum-discretionary judgment

(*yi* 義) which is a primary point of contention among Confucians and Legalists. For Confucius, the codification and public dissemination of laws sends the wrong kind of message. Laws are designed to protect the minimum interests of the members of society and to provide a mechanism for dealing with and removing those individuals who are not only unwilling to participate in fostering a harmonious social order, but whose behavior threatens the well-being of others and the ability of society to function.³⁶ Making the laws public focuses attention, not on the achievement of the highest quality of social harmony possible, but on the lowest level of participation required by society. Consequently, it may, they suggest, encourage some persons to look only to manipulate the system for their own advantage.

Thus we find Confucius criticizing the state of Jin for publicly promulgating laws: "Jin is going to ruin. It has lost its proper measures . . . When those measures are abandoned and tripods with penal laws on them are cast instead, the people will study the tripods and not care to honor men of rank."³⁷ The proto-Confucian Shu Xiang adds:

In antiquity, the former kings considered the particular circumstances in regulating affairs. They did not make public general laws of punishments and penalties, fearing that this would foster a contentious attitude among the people which could not be stopped or controlled. For this reason, they used their discretionary judgment [*yi*] to keep the people in bounds . . . and guided them in their behavior through the rites (*li*).²⁸

Confucius finds this codification and publication of law repugnant because laws are too determinate; too gross and

inflexible. They deprive the exemplary persons (*jun zi* 君子) of the discretionary latitude necessary to weigh the intricacies of the situation and to balance the various interests in the most harmonious fashion.³⁹

Legalists, on the other hand, view public law as a way of ensuring the smooth and effective operation of government.⁴⁰ As they see it, the Confucian system of *li*, by ceding to the nobles such wide discretionary powers, strengthens the hand of the elitist class. Hence they take the limitation of the powers of the noble class by law to be a praiseworthy way of undermining the dual class system in which "the *li* do not reach down to the common people; penal law does not reach up to the great officials."⁴¹

In sum, the Confucian *li* cannot be understood as universal ethical principles. The Confucian system requires that "persons of superior character" balance the competing interests of the given particulars. In this sense, it can be characterized as a "rule of man" (*ren zhi* 人治) rather than a "rule of law" (*fa zhi* 法治). The *Yin Wen Zi* clarifies this distinction for us:⁴²

Tian Zi, reading the *Shu Jing*, exclaimed, 'The reign of Yao was one of great peace!' Sung Zi asked him, 'Was this because of rule by sages or because of rule by sagacious laws? Peng Meng, sitting off to one side, broke in, saying, 'Because of rule by sagacious laws, not sages.'

Sung Zi then asked, 'What's the differences between the two?'

Peng Meng replied, 'Your confusion of the terminology is extreme indeed! Rule by the sage emerges out of the sage himself; rule by sagacious law emerges out of determinate principles. Determinate principles emerge from oneself, but one is not oneself the source of determinate principles. That

is, one can give expression to determinate principles, but such principles are not simply determined by oneself. Thus on this score the rule of the sage is self-generating. When order is generated through rule of sagacious law, however, nothing is left unordered.'

In a rule of man, the sage is the source, expositor and interpreter of social order and of the law. To be sure he is himself the product of a social, political, cultural and economic milieu. He is, moreover, not only shaped by but sensitive to the traditions of his community. Nevertheless, in the end, the sage determines what is best in a given situation based on his own judgment rather than by appeal to fixed laws or universal ethical principles. In the absence of any such principles, order is *sui generis*.

In *Yin Wen Zi's* rule of law, laws are based on determinate principles which transcend the individual opinion of a given person. One does not create the law but simply discovers it. When conflicts arise, a judge decides not what is best all things considered but what is right vis a vis the foundational laws. Order is not *sui generis* but constrained by transcendent principles.

Confucius' jurisprudence, in making the sage responsible for engineering and ensuring the smooth operation of harmonious social order, constitutes a "rule of man." There are, of course, still laws. Hence Confucianism remains a rule of law broadly construed to entail the existence of the legal and enforcement mechanisms necessary to ensure the ability of society to function: it is not lawless anarchy; if need be, sanctions will be imposed. But similar to Dworkin's ideal judge Hercules, the sage is ultimately the one who must interpret the law and make it — and, on Confucius' view,

society as well — the best they can be. In so doing, he is not precluded from taking ethical considerations into account. Indeed, it is incumbent upon him to do so. Confucianism is, therefore, not legal positivism.

Yet neither is it natural law in a strict foundational sense. Given the fundamental difference in methodology between Confucius' coherence approach and the correspondence approach of foundational natural law systems, we do well to avoid lumping him together with advocates of natural law.

III. Mencius and Natural Law

Mencius' jurisprudence has received relatively little scholarly attention. Nevertheless, the standard view which attributes to Mencius an innate moral sense by which one is able to evaluate ethical claims could serve as a ground for natural law. Chad Hansen, for instance, states:

The idealist wing of Confucianism ... claim[s] that the behavior dictated by the conventional code is, in fact, the natural inclination of humans — built into their *hsin*/hearts as innate dispositions to good (social) conduct. Thus it is the innatist, Mencius, who first makes the way truly metaphysical, prior to language, one, constant, absolute for all people and all times.⁴³

Were Hansen's reading correct, this innate, immanent moral barometer would constitute a transcendent source of determinate order in the foundational sense. However, a close study of the nature of human nature for Mencius and of the role of moral intuition or predisposition in the overall ethical reasoning process reveals Mencius to be more of a coherence prag-

matist like his mentor than the foundational innatist Hansen makes him out to be.

Before turning to the innately good human nature argument, however, a brief examination of other potential foundations for a Mencian natural law theory is in order.

Ethics

The interpretation of Confucius' jurisprudence as natural law hinged to a large extent upon the construal of *li* as universal ethical principles or norms. Closer examination revealed the *li* to be culture-specific guidelines which required personalization by the sage and other participants in light of the particular circumstances. In this respect, Mencius holds much the same attitude toward the *li* as does Confucius. As Benjamin Schwartz notes,

Mencius' morality — in fact his emphasis on 'righteousness' as such — can be very 'situation-oriented' and by no means simply fixed on the unchanging rules of *li* ... While *li* is mentioned, the term seems to refer more to the inner attitude appropriate to *li* rather than to *li* as a body of prescriptions.⁴⁴

Further, as Schwartz points out, the *li*

by no means cover the arena of human ethical action. The concept of 'doing right' [*yi*], which covers the infinitely varied circumstances of private and public life, seems much more central and seems to subsume *li*.⁴⁵

Thus we find Mencius declaring that "goodness alone is not sufficient for government; the law unaided cannot make itself effective" (4a1).⁴⁶ The law, and the *li*, must be interpreted and weighed

against other concerns: "a great man will not observe a rite that is contrary to the spirit of the rites, nor will he perform a good act that goes against the spirit of what he takes to be normatively appropriate (*yi*)" (4b6). Again, as for Confucius, it is the sage who must ultimately decide what is right in the particular context by balancing the various demands in light of his own cultivated sense of what is right and wrong, his *yi*.

Mencius provides a graphic illustration of this. When asked whether it is permissible to lend a hand to one's drowning sister-in-law even though to do so violates the prescription of the rites against males and females touching, Mencius replies (4a17):

Not to lend a hand is to be a brute. It is prescribed by the *li* that male and female should not touch, but in lending a hand to one's drowning sister-in-law one uses discretion (*quan* 權).

The sage is not bound by immutable principles. He must size up the situation and determine what is best. This requires not only that he take into account what the rites are, but that he weigh any mitigating circumstances, and balance the various ethical, legal, cultural, historical and sociopolitical considerations in a way which he believes represents the best normative result.

Significantly, the word used the Mencius to refer to this process in *quan*, which originally meant the weight on a scale, and hence to weigh. By extension, the word took on the meaning of "authority." The one who is able to balance the various concerns is the person who has the authority, the power, to effect/author order. The pragmatic, coherence character of the project is brought out by an additional connotation

of *quan*: exigency — as opposed to regularity (*jing* 經). In reaching a judgment that will restore ethical equilibrium, the sage responds to and weighs the exigencies, the particularities of the given situation. In the final word, it is the sage who constitutes the authoritative source for order, be it ethical, legal or socio-political: “The rites and judgments of what is right are derived from the person of superior character (1b16).”

Tian as a Potential Transcendent Source of Law

While Mencius' *tian* is no transcendent deity in the Judeo-Christian sense,⁴⁷ it might be considered by some a transcendent source of natural law, and hence merits attention. Mencius, like Confucius, often speaks of *tian* 天 in anthropomorphic terms, at times attributing moral agency or force to heaven. He maintains, for example, that whether or not the Way prevails in the empire depends on heaven,⁴⁸ and that “heaven alone can grant success” (1b14). More importantly, heaven, not the sage, seems to set the standard for what is moral:

‘It is said by some that virtue declined with Yu who chose his own son to succeed him, instead of a good and wise man. Is this true?’

‘No,’ said Mencius, ‘It is not. If heaven wished to give the Empire to a good and wise man, then it should be given to a good and wise man. But if heaven wished to give it to the son, then it should be given to the son’ (5a5).

Is Mencius committing himself to the position that whatever heaven decrees to be normatively right is *ipso facto* normatively right, rather than that heaven sanctions it *because* it is normatively right? If so, then law for Mencius might very well be natural law grounded in some kind of divine law.

This reading is problematic, however, when considered in light of the rest of the text. First, *tian*, though spoken of anthropomorphically as a moral agent, is not a transcendent deity. Mencius construes the relationship between *tian* and humans in terms of immanence rather than transcendence. The Way is not something that exists outside oneself, it is to be found within: “An exemplary person steepes himself in the Way because he wishes to find it in himself. When he finds it in himself, he will be at ease with it . . . he can draw deeply upon it . . . He finds its source wherever he turns” (4b14). Sounding more like a mystical Daoist than a practical Confucian, Mencius proclaims “all the ten thousand things are there in me” (7a4). In the final word, Heaven as a source of normative standards in internal, immanent (7a1):

For a person to give full realization to his heart is for him to understand his own nature, and a man who knows his own nature will know heaven. By retaining his heart and nurturing his nature he is serving heaven.

Secondly, Mencius' remarks in the above passage notwithstanding, heaven is not the sole arbitrator of what is right. As noted, he also claims that “the good and wise man is the source of the rites and what is right” (1b16). Like Confucius, Mencius stresses the need for the sage to set a standard through his own behavior (7a9), adding that “the compass and the carpenter's square are the culmination of squares and circles; the sage is the culmination of humanity” (4a2).

That the relation between heaven and humans is one of immanent polarity rather than one of dualistic opposition explains to some extent how Mencius can simultaneously maintain that both heaven

and the sage are the source of normative standards. As an interacting and mutually influencing unity, the sage and heaven both play a role in determining the socio-political and cosmic order.

However, if we are to determine whether there is some basis for considering Mencian Confucianism to be natural law, we need to be clearer as to the respective roles of the sage and heaven. Fortunately, Mencius elaborates on this point:

Wang Chang said, 'Is it true that Yao gave the Empire to Shun?'

'No,' replied Mencius, 'The Emperor cannot give the Empire to another.'

'In that case who gave the Empire to Shun?'

'Heaven gave it to him.'

'... Does this mean that heaven gave him detailed and minute instructions?'

'No. Heaven does not speak but reveals itself through its acts and deeds' (5a5).

While heaven imposes a general framework, the fleshing out of the details falls to the sage. As with Confucius, it is the sage who bears the responsibility of determining what is appropriate in the particular context, all things considered, not heaven. True, the sage is not totally free to fashion any kind of society he fancies. He operates within certain constraints fixed by heaven, or as we would say today, nature. These natural constraints or limiting conditions are referred to as *ming* 命, conventionally translated as fate or destiny. And indeed we do find Mencius often referring to the role of heaven in such fatalistic terms.⁴⁹

Yet it would be a great mistake to paint Mencius as a fatalist. He repeatedly states that fortune and misfortune are the results of one's own actions.⁵⁰ And he

quotes favorably the *Book of History* that "when heaven sends down calamities there is hope of weathering them; when humans bring them upon themselves there is no hope of escape" (4a8). Ultimately, Mencius, the idealistic social activist, sides with humans and the potential for positive change, for social reform, for the attainment of a truly harmonious society through the benevolent government of a sage-ruler.

So why then does Mencius make such seemingly fatalistic remarks about heaven? One suspects he has something more in mind than the common-place observation that there are general constraints imposed on the sage by nature, particularly given the explicitly anthropomorphic language in which he portrays *tian*.

There is in fact a very good reason why Mencius, despite his misgivings, feels compelled to maintain that success or failure depends not just on the sage but on the will of heaven as well. Confucius, we recall, focused his attention and energies on the ability of humans to achieve a harmonious social order. He championed moral suasion and the power of exemplary persons as means to influence others and effect sociopolitical change. The sage shouldered much of the responsibility for Confucius, he was the wind blowing over the grass (12:19). If he set himself aright, then the empire would fall into place (13:6, 13:3). He was the one with the ability to harmonize the many disparate interests of the members of society and to provide a unified sense of direction. His ethical vision was the pole star around which the rest of the sociopolitical galaxy revolved (2:1).

Mencius too focused his energies on the possibilities for achievement. In his discussions with kings and feudal lords, he

repeatedly directed their attention away from petty concerns for profit and territory and toward the attainment of the ideal of a benevolent government. Like Confucius, he believed such a state could be brought about through the moral power of a single sage-ruler: "the Empire has its basis in the state, the state in the family, and the family in one's own self" (4a5); "when the prince is benevolent, everyone else is benevolent; when the prince does what is normatively best, everyone does what is normatively best; when the prince is correct, everyone else is correct" (4a10).

Unfortunately, there is an obvious problem with this theory. Mencius must explain how it is that Confucius, great sage that he was, was not able to set the empire aright. Why was he not able to sway the people through the power of his exemplary conduct in the same way the wind sways the tall grasses over which it blows? Why was he not able to unite them with his vision of a harmonious social order and turn them toward its realization? And why is it, (one can imagine Mencius' critics, warming to the task, gleefully asking), that morally inferior feudal lords seeking nothing but profit are able to dominate the political landscape even today? To extricate himself from this predicament, Mencius falls back on the mysterious machinations of fate. The sage must not only have superior character, he must be favored by heaven. Confucius, while he had the former, lacked the latter.

Reason, Human Nature and the Law: The Innatist View

While heaven is not a transcendent divine source of natural law, it nevertheless might seem to constitute, in the form

of an inborn morally good human nature, an immanent ground for natural laws. Mencius maintains that humans are born with the "seeds" of compassion, shame, respect and a moral sense (*yi*) implanted in the heart. Of course these are only seeds, only the beginnings of a moral character. If these seedling dispositions or potentialities are nourished, they will grow into a fully developed moral character in which the virtues of benevolence, wisdom and a sense of propriety and moral appropriateness flourish.

Is this not a basis for natural law? Heaven bestows on all humans an innate disposition for moral goodness. If these incipient moral potentialities are cultivated, the person becomes, as we have seen, the sage counterpart of heaven: "For a person to give full realization to his own heart is for him to understand his own nature, and person who understands his own nature will know heaven" (7a1). This suggests that it is not the sage who ultimately determines what is right or wrong, lawful or unlawful, but heaven. The sage is only the medium through which the moral order of heaven is given expression. The sage does not create the law, he simply discovers it within himself by examining his inborn moral nature.

In support of this view, we do find Mencius stating that what is common to all hearts is "reason and a sense of moral appropriateness. The sage is simply the first to get a hold of this common element of the heart. Thus reason and moral appropriateness please my heart the same way as meat pleases my palate" (6a7). How does one discover the moral order within oneself? Other natural law theorists, as we have seen, posit a special faculty such as reason to explain how one determines what is objectively right. Mencius too maintains that "the faculty

such as reason to explain how one determines what is objectively right. Mencius too maintains that "the organ of the heart-mind can think. But it will find the answer only if it does so . . . This is what heaven has given me" (7a15). For Mencius, the heart-mind is the great part of humans. It is what accounts for the difference between humans and animals. If one does not take advantage of the heart-mind, one becomes a beast (7a8). If one does, however, then one has the potential for knowing heaven.

So is the sage, through reflecting with his heart-mind, simply discovering in his own nature what is fixed by heaven to be morally (and legally) right? I think not. First, Mencius cites the *Book of History* — "heaven sees with the eyes of the people and hears with the ears of the people" (5a5) — not to demonstrate that humans are merely a mouthpiece for heaven. On the contrary. The point is that heaven, in conferring on or withholding favor from the ruler, expresses the will of the people.

Secondly, human nature is not a determinate entity, an unchanging storehouse of ethical norms. Human nature, at least the moral component of our human nature, is fluid for Mencius. It is capable of change. In comparison to our five senses which are also inborn, human nature is capable of much more significant refinement and transformation.⁵¹

The way the mouth is disposed towards tastes, the eye towards colors, the ear towards sounds, the nose towards smells, the four limbs towards ease is human nature (*xing* 性), yet therein also lies natural conditions (*ming* 命). That is why the exemplary person does not describe it as human nature. The way benevolence pertains to the relation between the father and son, moral appropriateness to the relation between prince and subject, the rites to the

relation between guest and host, wisdom to the good and wise man, the sage to the way of heaven, is a matter of natural conditions, but therein also lies human nature. That is why the exemplary person does not describe it as naturally conditioned (7b24).

The sage realizes that our senses are subject to rather fixed natural constraints. True, one can cultivate and develop one's senses to a certain extent much as a musician can hone his ability to distinguish sounds, but the range is by and large predetermined. The moral virtues, however, though they too are all present in us at birth — at least in nascent form — are much more elastic in the degree to which they can be cultivated. Hence they are described as the more malleable *xing* rather than the less alterable *ming*. The sage, then, cannot turn to a determinate human nature in hopes of finding a solid and permanent foundation for law.

Finally, that Mencius speaks of one's moral capacities as human nature (*xing*) rather than in terms of *ming* (the constraints imposed by nature), indicates that he is more concerned with human nature as a potential for development than as a binding constraint or as a source of immutable moral principles. For Mencius, what we are born with is not as important as what we make of it. Mencius agrees with Confucius that at birth humans are more or less alike.⁵² We are all given the *seeds* of a moral character. These seeds, including our sense of reason and right and wrong, must be cultivated before the heart-mind is able to look to them for normative and legal guidance.

Time and again Mencius cautions that one can easily be led astray.⁵³ Our heart-minds must be trained and built up

through habituation and instruction.⁵⁴ It is through education and repeated performance of good deeds that one develops the ability to determine what is morally appropriate in a given context. Significantly, while instruction and education are part of the process, Mencius lays comparatively greater emphasis on the habituation and performance aspect. This is not, as often suggested, because humans come innately equipped with a functional ethical barometer which renders moral instruction otiose.⁵⁵ Quite the contrary. Our ethical capacities need to be developed, and education contributes to this end. But the efficacy of moral instruction in this regard is limited. Moral instruction is best at imparting general ethical principles. But for Mencius this is not sufficient. It is one thing to know what to do and another to do it. By stressing the repeated performance of good deeds, Mencius hopes to diminish this gap by making performance habitual or "second-nature." Further, Mencius is not as concerned with the theoretical understanding of moral principles as he is with their practical understanding. One gains a deeper and fuller appreciation of a moral maxim through the actual performance of good deeds than through intellectual contemplation alone. Lastly, and most importantly, the task of the sage calls for more than the mere application of general ethical principles which have been learned by rote. The sage must balance the various considerations in light of his own best judgment in the particular circumstances. This requires the kind of situation-specific sensitivity which is not reducible to rules which can be taught in school. Rather one develops this ability over time through the performance of good deeds in particular contexts and

subsequent reflection on that experience.

Thus the Mencian reason that grows in the heart of the sage and is shaped by one's upbringing and environment is not the pure theoretical reason of foundational natural law systems. It does not spring full-bloomed from an innate moral nature. Rather it is the practical reason of pragmatic judges and legislators who seek to determine what is best based on their own cultivated sense of right and wrong (7a36). In this regard Mencius remains faithful to the coherence approach of his Master.

Yet one cannot help but wonder why Mencius departs from Confucius in showing such great concern with human nature in the first place. Why does he not simply rely on the moral sense of the sage, as does his mentor? Why link the moral goodness of the sage to heaven through the medium of an inborn human nature with its nascent potentiality for moral goodness, and yet insist that the real ethical work of the sage is done after birth and independently of heaven?

The answer may lie in the historical fact that Mencius, unlike Confucius, had to respond to critics. One of them, Yang Zhu, threatened to undermine the basis of Confucian (and Mohist) ethics by arguing that the way to comply with heaven was to nurture one's own life. The drive toward self-preservation is innate. To seek one's own well-being, to attempt to live out the lifespan given to one by heaven is what is natural for humans; it is human nature — and sanctioned by heaven. Thus Yang Zhu is reported to have claimed that even if one were able to benefit the whole world by plucking out a single hair, one ought to refuse.

As Graham has pointed out, the egoism of Yang Zhu presents a profound challenge to Confucianism because it

follows from premises they themselves accept.⁵⁶ Confucians acknowledge that what is beyond human control falls within the domain of heaven. On Yang Zhu's view, human nature in the form of the drive for self-preservation is beyond human control. By Confucian reasoning, heaven would seem to be on the side of Yang Zhu. Is Confucian morality then nothing more than an artificial impediment to what is naturally demanded by heaven? If not, what is its basis?

Every coherence theory, Confucianism included, faces this same kind of objection. Coherence theories by definition deny that there is an ultimate moral ground, that one's ethical judgments can be derived from moral primitives. To criticize them for not providing a foundational basis for their ethical or legal system is simply to miss the point.

Why then does Mencius not simply dismiss the attack of Yang Zhu? The real ethical work, as we have seen, occurs after one is born. Why maintain a coherence approach after birth and yet attempt to buttress it by appeal to heaven for the innate potentiality of a morally good human nature? Perhaps Mencius felt that he could in this way circumvent Yang Zhu's criticism without compromising the basic thrust of Confucian theory. If what counts is what happens after birth, not before, then to add the claim that human nature is good in the minimal sense that Mencius holds it to be provides, at no cost, a neat solution to the problem raised by the egoism of Yang Zhu: it is human nature, not to follow our egoistic tendencies, but to be morally good, though one must develop these innate moral propensities through moral education, training and constant per-

severance.⁵⁷

Similarly, to claim that heaven gives us a morally good nature while simultaneously emphasizing that this nature must be arduously cultivated allows Mencius to placate those who believe heaven to be the ultimate moral authority. Both he and Confucius, with their interactive organismic cosmologies in which the sage is the counterpart of heaven and their emphasis on the moral power of the exemplary person, obviate the moral authority of heaven. But belief in the authority of heaven had been an integral part of the Chinese tradition. It had served a useful sociopolitical purpose in accounting for the conquest of the Shang people by the Zhou who legitimated their political succession by claiming the mandate of heaven — *tian ming* 天命. Were Mencius to completely ignore heaven, he would find it very difficult to win popular support for this theory. In fact, Mencius himself, as noted earlier, finds heaven expedient in explaining away the historical failure of Confucius and Confucianism.

In short, Mencius, while remaining true to the spirit of Confucius' coherence approach to ethics and the law, goes beyond his mentor's position with respect to human nature in order to respond to and accommodate the critics.

IV. Xun Zi

The case for Xun Zi's alleged natural law position is put most succinctly perhaps by Benjamin Schwartz:

The good order of society which [Xun Zi] describes is the universal order of civilization. Hence, when we speak of the sages as 'making it' or 'forming it,' we find that what they actually do is *make manifest* the overall pattern

appropriate to the end of harmonizing the centrifugal tendencies found in the individual human organism. it may not be innate in the individual but it seems to be latently present in the objective cosmic order. The *li* is in essence a kind of 'natural law' in the stoic and medieval sense. Like natural law, it is not self-enacting. Yet it would appear that what the ancient sages did in bringing the order of society into existence was not invent an arbitrary system of *li* but 'discover' it by a process of arduous reflection. Again one need not imagine here a Platonic realm of eternal forms and yet in some sense the *li* are part of the larger cosmic pattern and as such are much more than simply utilitarian devices. They are certainly not arbitrary convention.⁵⁸

To assess Schwartz's argument, it will be necessary to explore Xun Zi's view of human nature, epistemology and ethics.

Human nature and the law

Given Xun Zi's well-known position that humans by nature are evil, to suggest that human nature may serve as a basis for his moral or legal code will surely strike many as quixotic. Yet there is in this regard a certain similarity between Xun Zi and Hobbes who is often placed within the natural law tradition.⁵⁹ For both, law as a social institution is made necessary precisely because humans when left to their own devices are evil.

Xun Zi and Hobbes portray the human condition in much the same terms. In antiquity, people lived in a state of nature. Dominated by their inherent tendencies toward self-interestedness, they competed one with the other for the scarce goods available, giving rise to strife and social disorder. To rectify the chaos and set the social order aright, some system of laws or normative guidelines

was required. To explain the origin of this system, both appeal to myths: Hobbes to a mythical social contract, Xun Zi to mythical Ancient Kings:

What is the origin of the *li*? I reply, man is born with desires. If his desires are not satisfied for him, he cannot but seek means to satisfy them himself. If there are no limits and degrees to his seeking, then he will inevitably fall to wrangling with other men. From wrangling comes disorder and from disorder comes exhaustion. The Ancient Kings hated such disorder, and therefore they established the *li* in order to curb it, to train men's desires and to provide for their satisfaction ... This is the origin of the *li*

Faced with divergent interests and conflicting claims among the members of society, Xun Zi turns to the *li* as a mechanism for adjudication and social control. But the *li* do not function alone. They form part of a larger complex of *li yi fa du* 禮義法度 : rites, normative judgment, law and statutes. The need to complement the *li* with penal sanctions had always been part of the Confucian tradition. Though Confucians beginning with Confucius himself express distaste for litigation and laws, preferring to rely on the morally uplifting character of the ruler and the *li* instead, they nevertheless realize that some people will not respond to moral persuasion and the call to set aside narrowly defined self-interest in order to achieve the larger social goal of a humane state. To prevent these recalcitrant few from wreaking havoc on society as a whole, penal sanctions are necessary. Thus Xun Zi, in providing a place for *fa* within his system, remains squarely within the Confucian tradition.

But do we have here the makings of a natural law theory? Xun Zi begins with

the axiomatic assumption that humans are evil. As a result, some kind of law is necessary. But it need not be natural law, as Hobbes' positivist conception of the law as whatever the sovereign commands indicates. One must distinguish between the rational foundations of the legal system as a social institution and the rational foundations of the laws themselves. The institution might be rationally justified and yet the specific laws of that institution not be. Those who classify Hobbes as a natural law advocate do so because it seems that some system of adjudication is rationally necessary given his premises. Others who consider Hobbes a positivist argue that the debate between natural law theorists and legal positivists does not hinge on the question whether the legal system is justified. Few deny this. Rather the focus is on the laws themselves. Thus the real issue is whether a specific law need be morally or rationally justifiable to be valid. Natural law theorists say yes, legal positivists, no. To sort out Xun Zi's position requires examination of his epistemology.

Xun Zi's Epistemology: Reason and the Law

Schwartz attributes to Xun Zi a correspondence epistemology: "What the sage ultimately attains through his powers of reason is a comprehensive, impartial, 'unbeclouded' view of reality."⁶⁰ Xun Zi does, in fact, compare the mind to a mirror, or more precisely, to a pan of water:

If you place the pan on a level and do not jar it, then the heavy sediment will settle to the bottom and the clear water will collect on the top, so that you can see your beard and eyebrows in it and

examine the lines of your face. But if a faint wind passes over the top of the water, the heavy sediment will be stirred up from the bottom and the water will become mingled with it, so that you can no longer get a clear reflection of even a large object. The mind is the same way. If you guide it with reason, nourish it with clarity, and do not allow external objects to unbalance it, then it will be capable of determining right from wrong and resolving doubts (81/21 /55, W131).⁶¹

Were Xun Zi claiming one able to eliminate all external influences and biases such that one could mirror nature and see clearly what is right and what is wrong, he would be guilty of the Fallacy of the Naturally Given described in part one. Further, were he claiming that the sage is in this way able to grasp not only proper laws, but immutable and universal ones, he would be committed to a natural law position — at least, as shown above, so concludes Schwartz.

For Schwartz, the ultimate ground for the universal *li* is the objective order discovered through a process of rational reflection. Indeed, Homer Dubs even finds in Xun Zi's epistemology "the rationalistic ideal of philosophy which discovers eternal truths by pure thought starting from concepts."⁶²

The Schwartz-Dubs reading of Xun Zi is problematic both in its attribution of a correspondence epistemology of discovery to Xun Zi and its understanding of *li* as universal ethical truths.

The role of the sage in the epistemological process according to Schwartz is one of passive discovery. By becoming empty, unified and tranquil, he directly apprehends unbeclouded reality. Yet Xun Zi attributes to the sage a much more active role: "the sage gathers together his thoughts and ideas, experiments with

various forms of conscious activity, and so produces ritual principles and sets forth laws and regulations. Hence these ritual principles and laws are the products of the conscious activity of the sage" (87/23/24, W 160). Indeed, Schwartz himself notes that "the sage plunges into the world of reflecting, reasoning, intending, and planning. He is not like the sage-king of Huang-lao Taoism who simply sees the whole picture in a flash through synoptic intuition."⁶³

I have argued that the *Huang-Lao Boshu* does sponsor a correspondence epistemology in which the sage proceeds from emptiness (*xu* 虛) to tranquility (*jing* 靜) to elimination of personal bias (*wu si* 無私) and on to intuitive insight (*shen ming* 神明) of the objective laws of the natural and social order.⁶⁴ With Xun Zi, however, active reason continues to play a larger role than in the *Boshu*. The process of becoming empty, unified and tranquil is aimed at elimination of biases accurately assess the situation rather than the sage's reasoning and his ability to accurately assess the situation rather than at the direct, unmediated discovery of objective laws via some type of intuitive insight.

One does well to avoid reading into the metaphor of the sage's mind as mirror of "objective" reality the biases of Western philosophy toward correspondence epistemologies. Xun Zi is reacting to a potential danger in the coherence approach to conflict resolution: anytime one is called upon to balance competing claims, there is the danger that one's own prejudices and personal interests may influence, perhaps even unintentionally and "subconsciously," one's decision.⁶⁵ Hence the sage must strive to be as objective and impartial as possible in passing judgment. He must try to deter-

mine what is best for all concerned parties. Indeed, one notable difference between Xun Zi and his Confucian predecessors is the great store he lays on *gong yi* 公義 — impartial, fair-minded assessment of what is normatively best:

Fair-mindedness is the balance in which to weigh proposals; upright harmoniousness is the line by which to measure them. Where laws exist, to carry them out; where they do not exist, to act in the spirit of precedent and analogy — this is the best way to hear proposals. To show favorites and partisan feeling and be without any constant principles — this is the worst you can do (26/9/13, W35).

Ethics

As noted, Schwartz claims that the *li* and law are not arbitrary conventions but universal norms present in the objective natural order. As he sees it, "Hsun-tzu's sage most definitely does not, like Nietzsche's superman, freely 'create values,' " rather, he discovers them.⁶⁶

There is, however, a third alternative: the sage determines the *li* and laws based on his own best judgment as to the kind of norms required given the particular circumstances. Indeed, Xun Zi's position is virtually the mirror opposite of that found in the *Yin Wen Zi* passage cited above: sociopolitical order is the result not of rule of law per se but of sagacious rulers who create, interpret and apply the law.

Just as there are disorderly rulers, but no such thing as a disorderly state, so there are persons who effect proper order, but no such thing as laws which can effect it . . . The laws cannot establish themselves and cases cannot determine themselves. Where there is

the right person, they exist; where the right person is lost, they perish. Laws are the beginnings of proper order, but the exemplary person is the source of laws. Thus where there is the exemplary person even if the laws have been whittled away they will still be enough to meet all contingencies. When there is no exemplary person, however, even if you have a full complement of laws, they will not be applied at the right time, will not be responsive to changing circumstances and will only result in disaster (44/12/1).

The particular laws and *li* by which one adjudicates conflicts and achieves social order are human products, human artifacts, just as much so as pots and pans.

A potter molds clay and makes a vessel, but the vessel is the product of the conscious activity of the potter, not essentially a product of human nature ... The sage gathers together his thoughts and ideas, experiments with various forms of conscious activity, and so produces ritual principles and sets forth laws and regulations. Hence these ritual principles and laws are the product of the conscious activity of the sage (87/23/23, W160).

Rather than discovering universal and immutable laws in human, or for that matter non-human, nature, the sage creates the laws, in light of the particular situation. The Ancient Kings, realizing that some standard for adjudication was called for, responded with the *li*. As described by Xun Zi, the process was more one of pragmatic experimentation to see what would work rather than one of discovery of objectively true laws.

Indeed Xun Zi seems to be more concerned with there being a single, agreed upon standard for adjudicating conflict than with the truth of that standard. On an individual level, he repeatedly

stresses that there must be one goal, a single ideal held to throughout life: As a basis for action diversity is impractical. Hence the wise man selects one thing and unifies his actions about it" (80/21/49, W130). Similarly, society must choose its basic values and standards. It was the Ancient Kings who first accomplished this, and social order is best served by continuing to follow the standard they set. To change the *li* and laws willy nilly would be both inefficient and unfair in that it would make it impossible for people to plan their futures.

There is, however, nothing sacrosanct about the *li*. Xun Zi, despite his respect for the Ancient Kings, does not confine himself to mere imitation of past normative codes. He does not reject the kings of more recent dynasties: "Seeking a pattern in the age before the Three Dynasties will lead to confusion; rejecting the model of later kings will lead to inelegance" (28/9/49, W42). He realizes that circumstances change, and so laws must change accordingly. Sages continue to be necessary not only to interpret existing laws, but to determine new ones and modify or abrogate old ones in light of current circumstances.

It is possible to have good laws and still have disorder in the state. But to have a superior person acting as ruler and disorder in the state — from ancient times to the present I have never heard of such a thing (26/9/14, W35).

A person who has no laws at all is lost and guideless. A person who has laws but does not understand their meaning is timid and inconsistent. Only if a person abides by laws and at the same time comprehends their wider significance and applicability can he become truly liberal and compassionate (5/2/36, W30).

In the final word, attribution of natural law to Xun Zi, as to Hobbes, is problematic. While for Hobbes, when all is said and done, the law is what pleases the sovereign, for Xun Zi, it is what pleases the sage.⁶⁷

V. Conclusion

"Natural law" covers a variety of sins. In coming to terms with this enigmatic concept, it proved helpful to contrast natural law with legal positivism, a key differentia being the minimum separation thesis. While positivists do not require law to display any necessary relation to morality to be valid, natural law proponents assert that an unjust law is no law at all.

Yet to rely solely on the differentia of the minimum separation thesis does not allow one to fully appreciate the complexity of pre-Han philosophies of law. In examining the relation between morality and law, one must further distinguish between foundational natural law and pragmatic coherence systems.

While Confucius, Mencius and Xun Zi believe there is a necessary linkage between law and morality — and hence reject the minimum separation thesis and legal positivism — they do not ascribe to foundational natural law. The Confucian sage-judge makes his decision with an eye to the peculiarities of the particular situation rather than to transcendent and universal principles, be they divine, natural, rational or ethical. In striving for an equilibrium among the conflicting interests which will reflect the highest possible degree of social harmony attainable given the particular constraints, the Confucian sage seeks to render the law consistent with a specific society's values, practices, goals, and needs. His goal, to

emend the dictum of Dworkin, is to make both the law *and the world we live in* the best it can be.

That Confucian jurisprudence favors a coherence rather than a natural law methodology has important social consequences. Natural law doctrines, despite their dubious philosophical basis, have traditionally provided the foundations for strong (natural/human) rights traditions. By contrast, Confucianism is marked by the absence of a strong tradition of rights which serve to protect the interests of the individual against the dominant interests of the majority and the power of the state.

Moreover, in societies where rule of law is founded on natural law doctrines, legal institutions and procedures assume importance at the expense of individual personalities and judicial discretion. The constancy of the laws coupled with respect for precedent promotes social stability, or, depending on your view, social conservatism. In coherence based legal systems, on the other hand, the judge/sage is ceded, indeed required, to exercise discretion to achieve substantive — as opposed to merely procedural — justice. As a consequence, the legal system becomes more of a vehicle for social change, with judges often acting as primary catalysts.

Allowing judges the discretionary latitude necessary to make law and society the best they can be empowers the judiciary with the right to perform the legislative function of setting social policy. With such power comes the possibility of abuse. The authors of the United States constitution sought to rein in what could become an overly zealous and socially activist judiciary by a tripartite division of executive, legislative and judicial powers. Social policy is to be

determined by democratically elected legislators who to ensure reelection must serve the interests of their constituents. An independent and appointed judiciary freed from concerns over reelection keeps the legislature in check, striking down legislation that violates the constitution and infringes on rights granted to individuals by the constitution.

In recent years, the Critical Legal Studies movement has attacked the notion of an impartial rule of law wherein the judicial system dispenses formally pure procedural justice. On their view, the process is inherently normative. Judges cannot help but take a stand on normative issues of substantive justice. As a result, the judiciary, like it or not, sets social policy.⁶⁸ Rather than denying this, judges should grasp the bull by the horns and actively pursue social policy which will foster the most humane society possible.

The achievement of a humane society through a judicial system which allows judges/sages the discretion to chart social policy lies at the heart of Confucian jurisprudence. Yet if jurists in the West have tended to underappreciate the role of the judiciary in determining social policy and issues of substantive justice, Confucian jurists have perhaps tended to underappreciate the importance

of procedural justice and the need to protect the interests of the individual from an overreaching judiciary and state. In its effort to foster a humane and harmonious society, the Confucian state has traditionally extended its domain of paternalistic concern to aspects of life which those brought up in the West might consider private.

To be sure how to reconcile the interests of the individual with those of the state, how to balance the need for protection of the individual and social stability through impartial and constant laws with the desire for substantive justice and social improvement — these are thorny issues. Differences exist not only among contemporary jurists but within the ranks of classical Confucians. Xun Zi, less sanguine about the willingness of people to participate in the achievement of a harmonious order and more sensitive to potential abuse by those in power, places greater importance on impartial and publicly promulgated laws than either Confucius or Mencius. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, he, like his predecessors, espouses coherence, “rule by the sage” jurisprudence, and hence should not be forced into the philosophically less tenable natural law camp.

ENDNOTES

¹ Recently some scholars, most notably Hsiao-po Wang, Leo S. Chang, and Cheng Chung-ying, have challenged the orthodox view of Legalism as positive law, arguing that it is natural law grounded in the moral foundations of dao. See Wang and Chang, *Philosophical Foundations of Han Fei's Political Theory* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986); also Cheng Chung-ying, “Metaphysics of Tao and Dialectics of Fa” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 10 (1983): 251-284. For a critique of their arguments, particularly the claim that the legal philosophy of Han Fei is for all intents and purposes the same as that of Huang-Lao, see Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk*

Manuscripts of Huang-Lao (forthcoming).

² Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 544. See also Derk Bodde, "Evidence for the 'Laws of Nature' in Chinese Thought," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 709-727; Bodde and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Centers, Inc. 1974); Zhang Qiyun, "Kong Zi de falu sixiang" (Confucius' Philosophy of Law), *Huaxue yukan* 17 (1977):8.

³ I am concerned with the classical Confucianism of Confucius, Mencius and Xun Zi. How later Confucians interpret these ideas and how this effects their philosophy of law and the nature of post-Han Chinese law is beyond the bounds of this study. An excellent account of the influence of Confucianism on post-Han law is Ch'u T'ung-tsu's *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris: Mouton and Co., 1961).

⁴ Moral validity, while a necessary condition for legal validity, is clearly not sufficient. Many acts which are moral, even morally obligatory, are not legally required. The necessary relation between morality and law simply entails that a rule be morally permissible if it is to be a law.

⁵ Cf. John Austin's command theory, *The Providence of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832; ed. H.L.A. Hart, London: 1954).

⁶ Cf. Hart's theory of primary and secondary rules, *The Concept of Law* (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1961).

⁷ St. Augustine I, *De Libero Arbitrio*, 5; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Qu.xcv, Arts.2,4. John Finnis, a modern natural law advocate and apologist, contends that no natural law theory need maintain that an unjust law is not a law, adding that this is but a subordinate theorem in every natural law theory he knows of; cf. *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1980), p. 351.

⁸ For a coherence account of the law, see Dworkin (cited below). For Feinberg's coherence model, see *Harm to Others* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 18. For Rawls, see *A Theory of Social Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). The coherence component of Rawls, his notion of reflective equilibrium, is only one component of his methodology. Rawls' attempt to secure universality for his principles of justice through a thought experiment by "rational agents" who make life-plan choices from behind a "veil of ignorance" runs counter to the context-specific character of Confucian ethics.

⁹ Feinberg refers to them as "principles" rather than "judgments" as does Rawls. Rawls, for his part, requires in addition that the justification or rationale for balancing one's judgments with one's moral beliefs and intuitions in a particular way be brought into equilibrium. That is, one seeks the most coherent set of intuitions, reflective judgments and rationales.

¹⁰ Feinberg, *Harm*, p. 18.

¹¹ By "transcendent" I mean the following: *A* is transcendent with respect to *B* if the meaning or import of *B* cannot be fully analyzed and explained without recourse to *A* but the reverse is not true.

¹² This is, of course, Aristotle's distinction. Cf. *Nicomachean Ethics* V:7, 1134b18-20. Whether or not Aristotle is indeed a natural or proto-natural law theorist remains contested. For an argument that he is, see W. von Leyden *Aristotle on Equality and Justice* (London: MacMillan, 1985); for an opposing view, see D.N. Schroeder, "Aristotle on Law," *Polis* 4 (1981): 17-31.

¹³ "Foundationalism" is of course a term popularized by Richard Rorty; see his *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

¹⁴ Needham, *Science*, p. 582; Bodde and Morris, *Law in China*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Cf. Peerenboom, "Natural Law in the *Huang-Lao Boshu*," *Philosophy East and West* 40:4 (1990);

and *Law and Morality*; see also Karen Turner, "The Theory of Law in the *Ching-fa*," *Early China* 14 (1989): 55-76. That some classical thinkers do conceive of laws of nature in a scientific sense, see Bodde, "Laws of Nature."

¹⁶ While Kant illustrates the former, Hobbes with his notion of a social contract as the basis for law has been considered by some an example of the latter. Because society is an arena in which humans as self-interested gladiators war each against all, it is, Hobbes alleges, rational for people to try to guarantee a minimum level of protection via a social contract. Leo Strauss explains that Hobbes' contribution "was to maintain the idea of natural law but to divorce it from the idea of man's perfection; only if natural law can be deduced from how men actually live, from the most powerful force that actually determines all men, or most men most of the time, can it be effective or of practical value. The complete basis of natural law must be sought not in the end of man, but in his beginnings" (*Natural Right and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 180).

Interestingly, Hobbes' notion that "law, properly, is the word of him that by right hath command over others," also serves as a departure point for the legal positivism of Austin and others. For a discussion of the natural law side of Hobbes, see Theodore Benditt, *Law as Rule and Principle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); for the positive side, Carl J. Friedrich, *The Philosophy of Law in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 84-91. Huntington Cairns develops both aspects of Hobbes' thought in *Legal Philosophy from Plato to Hegel* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1949), pp. 250-67.

¹⁷ Finnis, *Natural Law*, p. 25. All following citations of Finnis are to *Natural Law*.

¹⁸ Legislators have indeed appealed to such natural principles to outlaw birth control devices. See Laurence Houlgate, *Family and State* (New Jersey: Rowan and Littlefield, 1988), who points out that attempts to ground law in human teleological nature fail because people disagree over what our ends as humans are.

¹⁹ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IaIIae, q. 94., art.i; Ia, q.79, arts 12-13.

²⁰ Alan Gonogan, "Wittgenstein on Sensation," in *Wittgenstein: The Philosophical Investigations* ed. George Pitcher (New York: Anchor, 1966), p. 350.

²¹ Wilfrid Sellars, *Science, Perception and Reality* (London: Humanities Press, 1963), p. 169.

²² See, for instance, Jeffrie Murphy and Jules Coleman, [*The Philosophy of Law* (Totowa: Rowman and Allenheld, 1984), p.29)], who state that positivist theories "insist on a sharp separation between law and morality." They add a further differentia, that positivist theories offer a pedigree test for legal validity — that is, a rule will count as law if, historically, it was generated in a certain way (passed by the legislature, commanded by the sovereign and so forth). Others, as they point out, simply take the essence of positivism to be the existence of a test for law that is a conventional social rule, what Hart calls a rule of recognition; cf. Hart, *Concept of Law*, pp. 92-104.

²³ Hart, *Concept of Law*, p. 181. Hart points out that this simply means that there is no *logically necessary* relation between morals and the validity of the law, though of course the "ways in which law mirrors morality are myriad" (p. 199).

²⁴ He himself sees it this way; cf. *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 339, 341. For an excellent review of the debate as to where Dworkin's theory falls on the positivist-natural law scale, see Stephen W. Ball, "Bibliographical Essay/Legal Positivism, Natural Law and the Hart/Dworkin Debate," *Criminal Justice Ethics* 3 (1964): 68-89.

²⁵ I have argued elsewhere that in *Law's Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), Dworkin advances two incompatible positions: a weak thesis, that law as integrity consists of a balance between justice, fairness, due process and political integrity; and a strong thesis, that law as integrity

requires that justice, fairness and due process be subject to the overriding constraint of political integrity understood as coherence in fundamental moral principles. In demanding that the law be made coherent in light of moral principles, the strong version prohibits pragmatic, utilitarian considerations of policy and social consequences. This considerably lessens the distance between Dworkin's coherence theory of the law as integrity and natural law theories, and increases the separation between him and Confucius. I contend that the weaker, more Confucian, position allowing for consideration of social consequences is superior – even by Dworkin's own criteria of fit and normative justifiability – and that Dworkin's dalliance with the weaker thesis suggests that he too is aware of the unpalatable implications of the strong thesis. Further, in the final analysis it is still the judge who determines what moral principles are to be considered and what weight they are to be given. See Peerenboom, "A Coup D'Etat in Law's Empire: Hercules Meets Atlas," *Law and Philosophy* 9 (1990).

Dworkin's claim that there is a single right answer in all legal cases also seems at first glance to push him in the direction of natural law. Over the years, he has been relentlessly attacked on this point. The point becomes moot, however, because Dworkin also contends that there is no available objective or conclusive test of correctness for judge's decision. Since a decision cannot be proved to be the right answer, the right answer thesis seems unnecessary and pointless. For our purposes, Dworkin's acknowledgement that there is no objective test ensures that his interpretive theory remains at heart a coherence and not a foundational theory.

²⁶ I must caution that no single natural law thinker, much less everyone in that tradition, need subscribe to all of the points which I have used to portray natural law theories. There will be paradigmatic cases which clearly fall within the tradition as described. But there will remain a penumbral area into which certain figures will fall who have one foot in the natural law tradition and one outside of it. This is to be expected when we examine thinkers in light of a hermeneutical framework which they not only did not but could not have had in mind inasmuch as the framework had not yet been clearly elaborated. This does not nullify the usefulness of this distinction as a hermeneutical tool given our current perspective and purposes.

²⁷ Needham, *Science*, p. 214.

²⁸ Bodde and Morris, *Law in China*, p. 21.

²⁹ See also Peerenboom, "Confucian Justice: Achieving a Humane Society," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 30:1 (1990): 17-32; for extensive and compelling critique of the *li* as universal ethical principles, cf. David Hall and Roger Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius* (New York: SUNY Press, 1987).

Interestingly, Herbert Fingarette, in what at first blush seems to be an interpretation of Confucius that would militate against a foundational natural law view, belies this initial promise in claiming that the *li* originate from some "impersonal standard" in the tradition, and that *dao* is a predetermined, single order, a "Way without crossroads." Cf. *Confucius – The Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 18-36, 62-3.

³⁰ This was Fingarette's initial assessment of Confucius, see Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. vii.

³¹ Citations of Confucius follow the numbering in D.C. Lau's *Confucius: The Analects* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979).

³² Cf. 4:10, 8:2, 13:5, 9:3, 17:11.

³³ Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. 63.

³⁴ "Since correct behavior in accordance with the *li* always depended on the circumstances, such as the status of the acting parties in social relationships, to publish laws beforehand which could take in-

sufficient account of the complexity of concrete circumstances, was an absurdity" (Needham, *Science*, p. 545; see also pp. 214, 521, 544). Bodde and Morris, having pointed out that *li* "has an extraordinarily side range of meanings" from religious ritual to all social and political institutions, state that "a government base on *li* functions harmoniously because the *li*, being unwritten, can be flexibly interpreted to meet the exigencies of any particular situation" (*Law in China*, p. 21).

³⁵ For his reticence on subjects beyond human control — human nature, the way of heaven/nature, deities, "miracles" or irregular events — see 5:13; 6:22; 7:21.

³⁶ This of course does not mean that there is no need for law. Confucius, practical man that he was, realized that there will always be bestial persons (*xiao ren* 小人) who must be prevented, through penal law (*xing* 刑), from egregiously rupturing the social order. Cf. 12:13.

³⁷ *Zuo Zhuan* (Chao, 29); Legge, *The Chinese Classics* vol. 5 (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1985), p. 732.

³⁸ *Zuo Zhuan* (Chao, 6); Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 609.

³⁹ The need for universal laws to be tempered by reason to fit the particular circumstance is a point often made by Aristotle, see *Nicomachean Ethics*, 5:10.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, the Confucian Xun Zi sides with the Legalists in this regard, favoring publicly promulgated and impartially applied laws.

⁴¹ *Li Ji* 1:35a.

⁴² *Yin Wen Zi*. Siku quanshu edition, in *Zhou Qin Mingjia sanzi jiaoquan* (Collation of three School of Names philosophers of the Zhou dynasty state of Qin), ed. Wang Qixiang (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), p. 37.

⁴³ Hansen, "A Tao of Tao in Chuang-Tze," in *Experimental Essays on Chuang-tzu*, ed. Victor H. Mair, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii press, 1983), p. 33.

⁴⁴ Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1985), pp. 266-67.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁶ Citations of Mencius follow the numbering of D.C. Lau's *Mencius* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1970).

⁴⁷ Like his mentor, Mencius downplays the importance of spirits: "The people are of supreme importance; the altars to the deities of earth and grain come next; last comes the ruler" (7b14). Cf. *Analects* 3:12, 7:21, 6:22, 11:12.

⁴⁸ Cf. 4a7; also 2b13, 5a5.

⁴⁹ Cf. 1b14, 1b16, 2b13, 4a7, 5a5, 5a6.

⁵⁰ Cf. 2a4, 4a8, 7a2.

⁵¹ Angus Graham has pointed out that prior to Xun Zi, Confucians did not make the distinction between human nature as an abstract teleological tendency and as the concrete process of nurturing and developing one's character; see "The Mencian Theory of Human Nature" in *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature* (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986), p. 15. Roger Ames, building on Graham's work, has argued at length that the conventional understanding of *xing* 性 "human nature" — as innate and determined blinds us to the dynamic, developmental side; see "The Mencian Conception of *renxing*," in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts* ed. Henry Rosemont, Jr., (La Salle: Open Court, 1990).

⁵² Cf. 6a7; also *Analects* 17:2.

⁵³ Cf. 1a7, 2a2, 4b28, 6a8, 6a10, 6a11.

⁵⁴ Cf. 4b15, 6a8, 7a14, 7a16, 7a40; 7b21, 7b30.

⁵⁵ Cf. Homer Dubs, *Hsuntze*, (London: Probsthain, 1927), p. 183; also Schwartz (*Ancient China*, p.

297) who claims that Mencius, because he believed moral development to be consistent with human nature, felt learning was "easy" and for this drew criticism from Xun Zi.

⁵⁶ Graham, *Studies in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Mencius also rejects Yang Zhu's basic assumption that it is human nature to seek self-preservation at all costs. Cf. 6a10 where he argues that we do in fact reject certain acts even if our life hangs in the balance: few would choose to subject one's parents, spouse and children to death by torture even if it was the only way to save one's own skin, for example.

⁵⁸ Schwartz, *Ancient China*, pp. 301-02.

⁵⁹ Cf. *supra*, n. 16.

⁶⁰ Schwartz, *Ancient China*, p. 314.

⁶¹ Citations of Xun Zi follow *Concordance to Philosophers* (Nan Yu Press, n.d.), vol. 1, and are of the form: page number/chapter number/line number. For reference, where possible I also provide the page number of Burton Watson's English translation (*Hsun Tzu*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

⁶² Dubs, *Hsuntze*, p. 99.

⁶³ Schwartz, *Ancient China*, p. 315.

⁶⁴ Cf. Peerenboom, "Natural Law in the *Huang-Lao Boshu*;" also *Law and Morality*.

⁶⁵ The problem of "false consciousness" has been much discussed within the Critical Legal Studies movement. See, for instance, J.M. Balkin, "Taking Ideology Seriously: Ronald Dworkin and the CLS Critique," *UMKC Law Review* 55 (1987): 392-433.

⁶⁶ Schwartz, *Ancient China*, p. 316.

⁶⁷ Cf. Wang Jie, "Lizhi, fazhi ihuo renzhi" (Rule of rites, rule of law or rule of man), *Lilun tansuo* 6(1988): 70-73. Wang also contends that Xun Zi's jurisprudence is rule by the sage.

⁶⁸ That many citizens as well as legislators have realized this is evidenced by the increasingly bitter partisan politics of the Supreme Court appointment and confirmation process.

Peking Opera and Modern American Theatre: The Reception and Influence of Mei Lanfang

William Tay
(鄭樹森)

In the winter of 1929, Mei Lanfang left China for the United States with a 24-member troupe. From mid-February to mid-July of 1930, the Mei troupe performed in all the major cities: New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Honolulu. The reception was warm and enthusiastic; the publicity turned Mei Lanfang into an instant celebrity. Mei also received honorary doctorates from Pomona College and the University of Southern California. As opera performers in traditional China and even in the early days of the Republic did not enjoy high social esteem, these two honors were perhaps most gratifying to Mei.

A review of the opera excerpts performed by Mei indicates a careful and deliberate selection of works which emphasize dance, gestures, and movements. These works are (here I cite the translated titles used during the tour with my transliterations in brackets): *The Fisherman's Revenge* (*Ta yü sha chia*), *By the Fen River Bend* (*Fen-ho wan*), *The Drunken Beauty* (*Kuei-fei tsui chiu*), *The King's Parting with His*

Favourite (*Pa-wang pieh chi*), *Killing the "Tiger"* (*Ching-e tz'u hu*), *Chun Hsiang Upsets the Study* (*Ch'un-hsiang nao Hsüeh*), *The Maiden in Heaven Showering Flowers* (*T'iennü san hua*), and *Rainbow Pass* (*Ni-hung kuan*). As Peking opera is very much an art of singing, such emphasis on the visual is an obvious attempt to overcome the language barrier.

Despite the strategy to overcome the language obstacle, the falsetto voice for the female role, a standard feature in Peking opera, aroused some mixed comments. Clearly unused to the falsetto voice, John Martin, writing for the *New York Times* (February 23, 1930), describes it as "strange" though "of exceptional beauty." Robert Littell also notes in *New York World* (February 17, 1930) that the falsetto voice is "curious but irresistible." But since the falsetto voice needs some familiarization even for the Chinese audience, these responses to an "exotic" performing art are not unusual. However, the falsetto voice does not seem to be an issue for the more important theatre critics and reviewers of the time. Justin Brooks Atkinson, one of

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the most influential drama reviewers of the thirties, cautions his readers that "the drama of Peking . . . has almost no point of similarity to the drama to which we are familiar." He goes on to urge his readers to "purge the sophomoric illusion that it is funny, merely because it is different." Other remarks by Atkinson in the same article reveal his knowledge about (or insight into?) the nature of Peking opera: "It is styled, conventionalized and as old as the hills. . . . Although our own theatrical form is enormously vivid, it is rigid, and never lives so freely in terms of imagination as this one does." Though brief and impressionistic, these remarks address three characteristics of Peking opera which are almost the pre-requisites in the receptive production of meaning among the audiences: (1) The acting (sometimes called by Westerners as pantomime) is highly stylized in order to supplement the almost total bareness of the stage. (2) The stylization is part of a larger system of conventions which one must have certain a priori understanding in order to comprehend the overall meaning. (3) The theatrical bareness and the stylized performance do not promote "illusionistic reality" on stage; as such, this form of drama is very much against the then prevalent realistic mode of Western theatre and demands a vigorous participation of the consciousness in the aesthetic realization of the artifact.

Apparently the so-called "unrealism" of Peking opera was then widely discussed among the critical and theatrical circles. Responding to this notion, the drama critic Stark Young observes in his article entitled "Mei Lanfang" (*Theatre Arts Monthly*, April, 1930): "This Chinese theatre is spoken of as completely unrealistic. . . . Its exact parallel is Chinese painting and sculpture. In there,

. . . we are constantly surprised at the exactitude with nature, . . . amazed at the manner in which they are made to supersede and concentrate their own actuality We are to remember this when we hear it said that Mei Lanfang's art is wholly unrealistic." Since the popular reception of Mei Lanfang's performance — five weeks and forty-one shows in New York — is no longer possible for us to gauge empirically, Young's article is perhaps the only evidence of a clash between American/Western perception constituted by the realistic theatrical conventions with a Chinese theatre which has no intention of achieving formal mimesis but aims at accomplishing internal and imaginary verisimilitude. Trying to explain his art to an audience unaccustomed to an Oriental art form, Mei Lanfang also points out that "Chinese theatrical conventions are the result of abstracting from a certain reality its essential pattern." (This is reported by R.D. Skinner in the March, 1930 issue of *Commonwealth*).

Preceding Professor James Liu's comparison of Western (Elizabethan) and Chinese (Yüan) drama by more than two decades, Stark Young also argues in the same article that there are noticeable analogies with Greek theatre: (1) Female roles played by men; (2) Painted faces with conventional meanings as the equivalent of Greek masks; (3) Exits, entrances, and certain stage movements are fixed and standardized; (4) Dance as an integrated part of the drama; (5) A form of total theatre fusing speech, songs, music, dance, and décor. Despite these affinities that Young has perceptively noted, the stylization of acting in Chinese theatre is perhaps unique; even the Japanese Noh is probably a distant parallel.

The dance critics, examining only the aspect of interest to them, are equally enthusiastic about Mei Lanfang's art. Their reviews, however, do not seem to be as insightful as the criticism by Stark Young. Commenting on the sword dance in *The King's Parting with His Favourite*, the dance critic Mary F. Watkins writes: "It is a tour de force of adroitness, skill and grace, tied up in form and symbolism, but in no sense impeded by them" (*The Dance Magazine*, May 1930). Another critic, William Bolitho, goes one step further and argues that "Mei Lanfang is above all a dancer; and as such I would not hesitate to put him in the highest class" (*New York World*, February 20, 1930). Both opinions apparently go against the traditional Chinese appreciation of the dance as an interlude, which, regardless of the virtuosity, is subordinate to the ultimate art of singing.

From these encomiums it is evident that Mei Lanfang's performances in New York were not perceived as mere exotica but as a valuable and unique artistic experience. However, the critical enthusiasm did not translate into any major impact on the mainstream American theatre. Eugene O'Neill visited Shanghai in late 1928 and had been fascinated with Chinese Taoism for quite some time. China and Taoism appeared prominently in his plays *Marco Millions* (1921-25), *Lazarus Laughed* (1925-26), and *Strange Interlude* (1925-27). But O'Neill was only interested in Chinese philosophical Taoism as a possible spiritual balance against modern Western commercialization and materialism. The formal and experimental potential of Chinese theatre did not seem to inspire him.

That particular potential, however, was picked up by the theatrical endeavor

known as the Living Newspaper. The thirties in America was a period of intellectual ferment and social turmoil, when novelists became union leaders and poets became agitators. The theatre was also gradually politicized with the formations of the left-wing Group Theatre and the radical Workers' Theatre. By 1935, the unemployment situation in the theatre was so severe that the New Deal's Works Progress Administration decided to launch a Federal Theatre project in order to provide vocational sustenance to out-of-work artists. To head the project, the Works Progress Administration chief Harry Hopkins selected not a Broadway professional but a seasoned administrator of the non-commercial little theatre, Hallie Flanagan. Over the course of its four years, from 1935 to 1937, the Federal Theatre spent somewhat over forty-six million dollars, supporting theatres in forty-six states with about 10,000 employees. In her book *Arena: The History of the Federal Theatre* (1940), Hallie Flanagan remembers the origin of the Living Newspaper experiment in a conversation she had with Elmer Rice in September, 1935: "We could dramatize the news without expensive scenery — just living actors, light, music, movement." Elmer Rice embraced the idea, accepted the directorship for New York, and was responsible for developing the idea with his group. The attempt of the Living Newspaper, according to Flanagan, was "to create an authoritative dramatic treatment, at once historic and contemporary, of current problems"; and like many other new forms of art, the Living Newspaper borrowed from many sources, which had been identified by Flanagan as follows: "from Aristophanes, from the Commedia dell'arte, from Shakespearean

soliloquy, from the pantomime of Mei Lan Fang [with] occasional reference to . . . Meierhold and Eisenstein."

The plays staged by the Living Newspaper always treated current and sometimes highly controversial subject matters. *Ethiopia* (1936) dealt with Mussolini's military invasion of that country, *Injunction Granted* (1936) with the labor-management struggle, *Spirochete* (1938) with the battle to control syphilis, and "... one third of a nation ..." (1938) with the housing plight. In 1938, an optimistic Flanagan thought that the Living Newspaper, the most experimental of the agency's four programs, was "a dramatic form in the beginning stage, a form capable of infinite extension" (*Federal Theatre Plays*, New York, 1938). But it was a dream never come true. By late 1938, the left wing politics of the Federal Theatre came under increasing fire from the House of Representatives' Special Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Propaganda (the HUAC); and the clash ended in the closing of the Federal Theatre project in mid-1939.

That the traditional Chinese theatrical form would have become a conscious inspiration for a modern radical theatre movement is perhaps ironic ideologically, but certainly not accidental artistically. There are two major reasons for the indebtedness (1) The bare stage of the Peking opera permits instant shift of time and space; (2) The stylized but symbolic miming of action does not require extensive realistic sets and props. These theatrical conventions/conveniences are congenial to a theatre that demands mobility, topicality, different updated versions, and constant shift of subject matters.

The Living Newspaper is by now no more than a minor episode in the

American leftist cultural movement of the thirties. But it is indirectly the first contact between Bertolt Brecht and traditional Chinese theatrical form. During Brecht's early 1935 American visit, Joseph Losey, a director of the Living Newspaper who later became a famous film director, took Brecht to see one of the productions in New York. In May of the same year, Brecht finally saw Mei Lanfang's performances in Moscow and the impressive experience resulted in the essay "Verfremdungseffekte in der chinesischen Schauspielkunst" ("Estrangement Effects in Chinese Acting"; first published in an English translation by Eric White in *Life and Letters*, Winter, 1936). This essay, as all students of modern theatre know, is the theoretical basis of Brecht's "epic theatre." Despite Brecht's first-hand contact with Peking opera, the experimental potential of the Living Newspaper did not go away. Ferdinand Reyher, a Hollywood writer and a close friend of Brecht's, apparently had discussed with Brecht in 1935 about collaborating a play in this mode. And as late as 1949, when Reyher became the only American invited by Brecht to join the Berlin Ensemble, in a letter dated May 28, Reyher continued to discuss the possibility of mounting a Living Newspaper production which could be continuous: "I can't get our continuous (Chinese) theatre out of mind. There is the absolute duty of at least trying it. There is no reason we can't go through the world's preceding day's events from 9 to 11, indicate the day's play from 11 to 1, rehearse from 3 to 5, and go on at 8. This of course includes fresh sets, lyrics, and music." (This letter was published for the first time in the appendix of James Lyon's *Bertolt Brecht's American Cicerone*, Bonn, 1978). Apparently

Reyher and Brecht were still pondering the mobile, instantaneous, journalistic, and documentary possibilities of the Living Newspaper when they talked about the dramatization of the events of each day. In this sense each performance would be a continuation of the previous night, no doubt a substantial elaboration of the original format. The reference to the continuous theatre as "Chinese" is clearly an allusion to the Living Newspaper's borrowings from Peking opera. But according to Professor James Lyon, "like so many other ideas with which the two friends bombarded each other during sessions that often lasted until late into the night, they never had an opportunity

to develop it."

From the above account, it should be obvious that any study of "influence" in literary relations cannot be limited to the actual *rappports de fait*; for every work of art, being *sui generis*, is not explicable solely in positivistic terms. The fact that only the Living Newspaper and Bertolt Brecht were creatively inspired by the form of Peking opera indicate the existence of an intellectual quest and an artistic necessity well before the actual contacts. The real encounters, which are accidental, merely happen to be artistic catalysts and convergences that help to reinforce and realize an idea already in germination.

The Religious in Neo-Confucianism

Kirill Ole Thompson

Introduction

Neo-Confucianism flourished as a broad intellectual, ethical and political movement in China for some 900 years.¹ It emerged as a cultural force during the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126) when there was a general rethinking of Confucianism. Most leading figures of this movement in youth indulged in Taoist religion and Buddhist philosophy, then returned to the Confucian standbys for something more tangible and relevant to their felt concerns. Ultimately, they sought the moral and political regeneration of the empire through a fundamentalist dedication to the Confucian program for self-realization. Encompassing the living contexts of self, family, society, state, world, and cosmos, the program bore the positive air of philosophy. At the same time, several distinctive elements of the religious lay at its core.

That these Sung thinkers as often as not devoted prolonged periods of their youth, sometimes a decade or more, to the quest of self-transcendence and enlightenment at the feet of Taoist and Buddhist masters disclosed their underlying religious bent.² Such enlightenment was to involve, among other things, the experience of a mystical union with the cosmos.³ Interestingly, the cultivation of a 'religious' mind-set became a major part of their mature thought in their sustained

endeavor to manifest a cultivated and reflective reverence for origins — familial, cultural, human, even cosmic — in everything they said and did. They considered such origins to be precious springs of life and creativity and such basic attitudes as reverence and sincerity to be inherently purifying of mind and intention. Many of them believed that one who succeeds in cultivating a pure and tranquil mind will intuit a living source of consanguinity among people and of unity among things. They therefore made such religious attitudes as reverence, tranquility, and sincerity basic to their respective cultivation programs.⁴

Our account of how the religious is manifested in Neo-Confucian cosmology, anthropology, cultivation and realization must begin with a consideration of some distinctive features of Neo-Confucian thought and some of its special terms.⁵ We must bear in mind that, whereas most 'mainstream' Western philosophy and religion, for a variety of reasons, presuppose radical separations between, say, the temporal and the eternal, the secular and the sacred, the spirit and the flesh and the like, Neo-Confucianism presumes their identity in a cosmos of primordial wholeness in which all things are intertwined and interdependent.⁶ Premised on the underlying unity between nature and

man, the Neo-Confucian conception is profoundly ecological and makes no room for such separations or the ontological gaps on which they are based. To be sure, religious-attitude concepts such as reverence and sincerity function differently in the Neo-Confucian context than they do in Western Judeo-Christian contexts where they certainly pertain to an absolute God figure.

Conceptual Reflections

Typical of the Chinese philosophical tradition, Neo-Confucianism conceives the world — reality — as process.⁷ All things without exception come to be, persist for a time, and then pass away in the patterned cosmic flux borne of interacting polarities such as *yin* and *yang*. This conception leaves no place for the idea of a transcendent God or divine creator, nor does it require the positing of a 'higher' realm of principle or reason to govern, order or otherwise intervene in the empirical world from without.⁸ Whatever cycles, orders, patterns, regularities, types of entity and life form exist are but the spontaneous products of the inherent fertility and creativity of the cosmos itself. Consequently, it is most important for us to understand Neo-Confucian concepts as functioning within this living conception of reality as flux. These concepts are immanent in cast and in no familiar religious or philosophic sense 'transcendent', decidedly not in the Christian sense of a 'radical other.'⁹

The fundamental Neo-Confucian concepts of *li* 理 (pattern) and *ch'i* 氣 (fluid-substratum) provide a case in point.¹⁰ The flux which constitutes the world is conceived to be a complex composition of *li*-ordered *ch'i*. *Ch'i* here refers to an active, fluid substratum whose

manifold chemical processes give rise in stages to the empirical world. *Li* then denotes the ordering, patterning, structuring tendency inherent in *ch'i* and expressed in all phenomena. On typical Neo-Confucian views, the selfsame *li* is at work in all things at every level of existence, while the kind and quality of its particular expression is a function of the specific *ch'i* involved. *Ch'i* thereby provides for the individuation, tangibility and interactive quality of things while *li* provides for their determinate inner compositions, their *hsing* 性, as well as their patterns of intercourse and transformation. In this regard, the concepts of *li* and *ch'i* apply broadly to the larger cosmos as well and are thought to provide for the very element of existence as well as yielding the fruitful patterns of intercourse which make our cosmos so distinctively ordered and fecund.

The concept of *tao* 道 (way) pertains to this larger cosmos, that is to say, to the world conceived as a flux borne of *li*-ordered *ch'i* activity.¹¹ The term '*tao*' in this context accentuates the dimension of order, pattern, structure — *li* — in the world, but includes *ch'i* as its content.¹² Chinese thinkers have from antiquity used the expression '*t'ien-ti*' 天地 (heaven-and-earth) to describe the cosmos from the human perspective, for which all things are perceived to exist betwixt the cover of heaven above and the support of earth below. Heaven and earth are understood to be interacting polarities akin to *yin* and *yang*, not distinct and separate orders of existence between which direct commerce is conceived as rare and most difficult to envisage, as a Christian theology. Heaven and earth are understood to be of a kind, *ch'i*, and structured and related on the selfsame *li*. They are thought to be related in such a balanced and fecund way

that they spontaneously engender the teeming world of nature. The term 't'ien' 天 (heaven) when used in disjunction from 'ti' 地 (earth) in Neo-Confucian writings is usually an adjective meaning 'natural' or sometimes 'cosmic' as opposed to 'human' or sometimes 'petty'.¹³ 'T'ien' connotes loftiness and impartiality, but denotes the immanent order of the world, the 'li' of heaven and earth; it is the *li*, the inner pattern which structures and relates all things from within. 'T'ien' is in no distinct sense conceived as an overarching, transcendent heavenly-principle or divine reason. 'T'ien-li' 天理 is fully indigeonous to the natural order in the same way that grains are indigeonous to wood, veins to a leaf and lines to marble,¹⁴ but it is accepted that the good qualities of this natural order — balance, integrity, impartiality — are reflected in human nature and are constituents of man's basic character. Hence, its significance and value connotations.¹⁵

Lastly, the Neo-Confucian concepts of *hsing* 性 and *ming* 命 correspond roughly to traditional Western conceptions of human nature and destiny, respectively. And, they are usually so translated without further ado.¹⁶ Neo-Confucians conceived *hsing* quite specifically as the particularization of *li* within any given thing. *Hsing* is that inner composition of a thing which makes it what it is and behave as it does. Though *hsing* in this sense are always manifested in particular things, they also determine natural kinds. Thus, while my *hsing* is specific to me and underwrites my individuality in various ways, it determines that I am human and not bovine and that I possess certain distinctive human attributes and capabilities. Because of their concern with values and ethics, Neo-Confucians

tended to define man's *hsing* in terms of the moral dispositions first emphasized by Confucius 孔子 (551-479 B.C.) and elaborated two hundred years later by Mencius 孟子 (371-289 B.C.).¹⁸ This was the basis on which they charged man with the task of achieving consummate personhood through self-cultivation.

The concept of *ming* pertains to the process whereby *li* becomes manifested as the *hsing* constituting a particular. Most broadly, *ming* enlists the totality of conditions which give rise to a particular phenomenon, making it what it is and shaping its behavior. Metaphorically, for Nature to induce the formation of some particular constituted around its inner *hsing* in this way entails that it has commanded or 'mandated' that particular to be what it is and behave as it ought.¹⁹ This occurs spontaneously in nature where things simply are what they are and express what they are directly. But because human beings require training and education, this command is understood to include the provision that people must cultivate themselves to realize their *hsing* and thus fulfill their 'mandate'. What Confucianism itself offers in this regard is a viable conception of the human mandate and a comprehensive program for fulfilling its; Neo-Confucianism goes on to incorporate more philosophical system and articulation. *Ming* too is an immanent concept, indicative of a formation process that permeates the world. Therefore, even the apparently meta-physical formula, "That which heaven (t'ien 天) mandates (*ming* 命) is called the nature (*hsing* 性)" appeals to nothing of a transcendent nature but articulates the inner elements of an essentially natural process.²⁰

The Neo-Confucian cosmos forms a fertile and creative aesthetic continuum.

It bears its own capacity for transformation borne of indigeonous polarities and patterns of intercourse, and stands in no conceptual need of an extrinsic metaphysical order or divine designer or ruler. Even meaning and value are conceived as deriving from the *li* at its core which provide for its propitious continuity, balance, harmony, and impartiality. According to Neo-Confucian accounts, the sages of antiquity set forth the values deemed to be human reflections of these propitious features of *li* as they are manifested in human nature, thus facilitating the sort of self-realization which best secures a productive, cultured, harmonious community. It has been argued that because Confucianism lacks notions of deity and divine revelation, it lacks the notion of a sufficiently inspiring and uplifting transcendent source to be the foundation of a satisfying spiritual life. Confucian thought itself, however, confutes such reasoning by disclosing the real possibility of seeking the values proper to man within ourselves and our world.

Cosmology

The Neo-Confucian cosmos manifests an orderly cyclic process. It presents the basic categories of Chinese science in organic sequence.²¹ The mainstream conception is formed around the interactive *ying-yang* 陰陽 polarity introduced above.²² Primal *ch'i* (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣) is introduced as the 'original state' of existence which pervades the receptacle of becoming, termed 'the great void' (*t'ai-hsü* 太虛).²³ Conceived on the model of swirling vapor, primal *ch'i* is undifferentiated, featureless and imperceptible, yet it is capable of giving rise to tangible phenomena through various chemical interactions and transformations. The

initial mode of interaction on this account is that which gives rise to *yin* and *yang*, the elemental polar qualities of differentiated though yet imperceptible *ch'i*. *Li* enters at this point in its most primitive realization, termed *t'ai-chi* 太極 (supreme pole), as the pattern forming and modulating *yin-yang* intercourse.²⁴ Various *yin-yang* interactions in turn give rise to tangible *ch'i* (*ch'i-chih* 氣質), initially in the form of the five phases (*wu-hsing* 五行) — fire, water, earth, metal, and wood. Functionally akin to the elements of classical antiquity in the West, the five phases however are mutable *yin-yang* concatenations rather than irreducible immutable substances. The five phases are interconvertable and set to interact to produce more complex phenomena. As in the case of *yin-yang* intercourse, *li* forms and modulates the patterns of intercourse among the five phases. *Li* moreover figures within them as their respective internal configurations, that is, as their specific *hsing* (natures).²⁵ It is through interplay among *yin*, *yang* and the five phases that all things, spiritual as well as material, are produced. The patterning and regularity displayed in nature bespeak the balance and integrity written into the *t'ai-chi* mandate, while its brute presence and fecund liveliness complement the fluid vitality of *ch'i*.

While in many ways a celebration of *ch'i*, this vision of the cosmos centers on *t'ai-chi*, the fundamental pattern of complementarity which underwrites all processes of transformation and synthesis.²⁶ No mere abstraction, *t'ai-chi* is that generative impulse-pattern which yields among all phenomena a pervasive resonance and harmony. Indeed, some Neo-Confucians conceived enlightenment to be an informed realization of *t'ai-chi* as the root of all order and creation.²⁷ They

revere *t'ai-chi*, and exalt it as the

splendid, perfect pattern of the way. Every person possesses the selfsame *t'ai-chi*; every thing possesses the selfsame *t'ai-chi*. What Master Chou Tun-i calls *t'ai-chi* is manifested in the resplendent, excellent qualities of heaven, earth and man. [28]

T'ai-chi thus functions as a creation principle in Neo-Confucianism much as the concept of God has done in familiar religious traditions. This 'principle' however is purely immanent and is distributed throughout creation. Every thing, every phenomenon, every subtle transformation embodies *t'ai-chi*. Ubiquitous, *t'ai-chi* occupies every point in the cosmos, and renders every point an ostensible center of things. The splendor and perfection attributed to *t'ai-chi* pertain to its fluid symmetry and inexhaustible fecundity.²⁹ It forms and modulates a continuous action-reaction cycle held to operate in perpetuity.³⁰ The powers of transformation and creativity possessed by heaven, earth and man are therefore in effect those bestowed and mandated by the *t'ai-chi* operative within.

Anthropology

Man, the offspring of nature, is part and parcel of the cosmic process. He occupies a collective niche in the natural order and reflects and responds to things on the basis of their shared *li*. Each person is conceived as a locus of interpersonal relationships and as occupying an evolving place in family and the community, but never as an isolated entity.³¹ What distinguishes man from other creatures is that his mental *ch'i* is most lucid and responsive, which makes

him the most capable of grasping situations and determining actions. Ultimately, it makes him uniquely capable of understanding the world and himself as well as of giving rise to society, culture and language. These achievements do not set man off against nature, for man is a manifestation of the natural process. He is nature become self-conscious. His mind is nature's mind and his achievements are testimony to the creativity of Nature herself.

Man is thus a significant microcosm on this view.³⁴ His unconscious mind is comprised of undifferentiated primal *ch'i*, which provides the reservoir for his mental creativity. His higher mental functions are basically expressions of *yin* contraction and *yang* expansion. *Yang* activity is defined as dynamic and outgoing, as in discerning, deliberating, and responding, whereas *yin* activity is understood to be basically passive and inward, as in meditating, nurturing, and reflecting. A healthy mental life will consist in a balanced interplay of *yin* and *yang* activities. *T'ai-chi* which forms and modulates *ying-yang* intercourse therefore lies at the core of man's higher mental functions and provides for the possibility of a preestablished attunement between man and the cosmos. Neo-Confucians thus took *t'ai-chi* to be the focal point of their endeavor to achieve self and cosmic realization.³⁵ As Chou Tun-i 周敦頤 (1017-1073) asserted:

It is man alone who receives *ch'i* in its highest excellence, and therefore he is the most intelligent.

His physical form appears, and his spirit develops consciousness. The five moral dispositions of his nature are aroused by and respond to the outer world and engage in activity; good and evil are thus

distinguished and human affairs
transpire. [36]

If such is the case, why aren't all men sages? At root, they are sages, but owing to vicissitudes of their *ch'i* endowments and family or social environments many men lose sight of their inner roots of sagehood. Each person's specific *ch'i* endowment introduces extraneous elements into his mental life and behavioral tendencies. For example, even though one might have the semi-divine *t'ai-chi* at work deep down within, if his *ch'i* endowment garnishes him with a strong sexual appetite and fiery passions, they will probably 'becloud' and 'muddle' his higher mental functions and impel his behavior, or if his *ch'i* endowment renders him lethargic, his mental activity may well be slowed and perhaps skewed by daydreams. Few are those blessed with especially refined and balanced *ch'i* endowments. Hence, the great majority are not appreciative of the *t'ai-chi* within or without and, lest they have been very well brought up, fail to become consummate human beings.

The main facets of man's psycho-physical make-up are understood to be expressions of the five phases. When the *t'ai-chi* diagram is read as a model of the human being, the five phases portion is taken to depict the fivefold system of internal organs as plotted in traditional Chinese medicine.³⁸ Each phase dominates a type of organ and gives rise to its characteristic traits. This fivefold system of organs is seen as providing a vital system of conduits for the flow of the body's life *ch'i*. The five modes of perception, the five elements of personality and the five emotive roots of the moral dispositions similarly reflect the five phases and are thought to reproduce their respective characteristics. On this

account, differences in distribution of the five phases produce basic individual differences among people, particularly as identifiable psycho-physical complexes.³⁹ One who has too much of "wood" but too little of "water" will, for example, not merely be stiff and dry but also far-sighted, hard of hearing, taken to drink as well as severe and judgmental. Neo-Confucian pedagogy remained individualized and practical to the extent that it kept in mind such individual differences which called for special approaches to cultivation and instruction.

The human body *qua* physical entity is composed of the selfsame tangible *ch'i* as are 'heaven, earth and the myriad things.' The body manifests the physical dimension of the human microcosm. Overall *ch'i* endowment, a product of environment as well as heredity, determines physical traits, athletic prowess, even perceptual and mental perspicacity. It shapes appetites, desires and predilections to the extent that they could obscure higher mental functions and incline one to be a creature of desires rather than a rational, self-directed 'agent'.

As reflections of the cosmos in structure and function, men in the view Neo-Confucianism should be reverential offspring of nature.⁴⁰ While remaining a natural entity, man is uniquely self-conscious and sensitive because his *ch'i* is most pure, penetrating and responsive. Even though his desires and inclinations can displace his mental probity, the dispositions of shame and aversion at his core can always rekindle his 'original' moral orientation. Human sensitivity is rooted in the *li* which comprise human nature. These *li* as our investiture of *t'ien* or *t'ai-chi* constitute the inner ground of our mandate to realize our-

selves. "The precondition," however, for us to activate the

vital forces in our nature is our own inner transformation. Unless we can first harmonize our own feelings and thoughts, we are not prepared for nature, let alone for our "interflow with the spirit of Heaven and Earth." It is true that we are consanguinous with nature but we must make ourselves worthy of such a relationship. [41]

Cultivation and Realization

Cultivation then is a multifaceted process of interpersonal practice, attitude building and continuous learning whereby one seeks to fulfill one's inner 'mandate' and become a consummate person, socially involved and cosmically attuned. Cultivation, as the central concern of Confucian life, begins and ends with practice. From early childhood, one endeavors to serve and obey one's parents. And, one goes on to express this spirit of compliance and respect in ever broader circles — home, neighborhood, school, town, county, state, empire. Through this effort, one's inner sense of appropriateness (*yi* 義), one's sense of what to do when, is informed and polished.⁴² At the same time, one's attitude of reverence (*ching* 敬) is nurtured and strengthened. Aroused in special regard for one's parents, reverence forms the dispositional core of Confucian cultivation. One preserves and nurtures it to animate all that one does. Broadly conceived, being reverent involves being calm, collected, concentrated, alert and discerning as well as deferential and respectful. Such reverence is to mature into an awe for the well-springs of life, manifested primarily in one's parents, which give rise to our world.⁴³

Confucian reverence is to mature into a 'religious' awe for creation and life expressed as a sympathetic regard for all sentient beings and full acceptance of this world.⁴⁴ According to Confucian psychology as well, reverence arouses the moral dispositions to chasten the mind and purify the intentions, such as by cleansing one's murky *ch'i* endowment, churned up perhaps by temptation. As one's thoughts and intentions become chaste and pure in this way, one becomes sensitive to *li* and his higher mental functions increasingly come into play. Accordingly, "If one succeeds in preserving reverence, one's mind will remain tranquil and the *t'ien-li* will become clearly evident." *T'ien-li*, which constitutes the core of mind, will then assume their preestablished position of locus of mental activity. Nurtured in the mental attitude of reverence, such illuminated *li* become the root of one's moral self-mastery, one's inner directed capacity to discern, think and respond sensibly to situations. They thus comprise the foundation of one's moral character. Therefore, "Reverence just means the mind is in charge of itself."⁴⁶ Some Neo-Confucians stressed the value of tranquility (*ching* 靜), usually reached through a meditation practice termed 'quiet-sitting' (*ching-tsuo* 靜坐), for achieving a self-transforming intuition of *li*.⁴⁷ Although this practice really involved "concentration of will," there was concern that it could lead to quietism and withdrawal from society.⁴⁸ Other Neo-Confucians stressed the value of sincerity (*ch'eng* 誠), also rendered 'authenticity', but this seemed more properly a goal or achievement of cultivation than a cultivation method.⁴⁹

Simply to feel reverential and to have a vivid intuition of *li* does not constitute a full-realization. Such reverence and

cognizance have value just to the extent they are manifested in one's thought, intention, demeanor, commitments, conduct, life-style, literally everything one does. Therefore, the active pursuit of Confucian learning is an integral part of the cultivation process. Rooted in reverence and interpersonal practice, Neo-Confucian learning seeks to provide for depth of comprehension and creativity in conduct.

Neo-Confucian learning advances in stages in tandem with cultivation generally. The child at the elementary level is to serve and obey his parents deferentially. He learns the tales of filial piety and fraternal love and, made to understand he is the precious extension of his parents, he is stirred to emulate as well as to obey them.⁵¹ The youth at the intermediate level goes on to master the six arts — etiquette, music, archery, charioterring, calligraphy, and calculation — basic skills required by society. He moreover learns to interact in widening circles of acquaintances, drawing upon personal experience and models presented in the classics. The person at the advanced level concentrates on exploring the *li* manifested in the things at hand.⁵² Guided by the classics, he explores the integrative structures of phenomena, circumstances, relationships — most particularly those in the context of human affairs — and his own moral disposition. Through such investigations into how things mesh, how they go together, he nurtures a sensitivity into the dynamics of the *li* within and without and thus how to dispose and conduct himself most properly. Providing that things are organically patterned and intertwined, *li* spawns subtle correlations and resonances among them. Therefore, every spark of insight into *li* one gains draws him up

towards a richer, more adequate comprehension. One who carries this process all the way to the utmost limit comprehends *li* in its most primitive nexus, *t'ai-chi*, the pivot of change in the world and thought in the mind. Plodding in this way, one comes to discern *t'ai-chi* immanently in genetic connection to all things rather than as an empty abstraction.⁵³ The cultivation breakthrough at the highest level culminates in a total, all-consuming self-realization in cosmic context. In an influential passage, Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) affirmed:

The meaning of the expression, "The attainment of knowledge lies in investigating things," is this: Should one intend to attain knowledge personally, he must explore the *li* of everything one encounters. Indeed, man's discerning mind can comprehend all things, for all things possess *li*. Only because there remain some *li* one has not yet explored will one's knowledge not be exhaustive. This is why the first step in learning at the advanced level consists in instructing the learner, regarding all things, to proceed in each case on the basis of what he already knows of their *li* and explore them further to grasp their ultimate content. After exerting himself in this way for a long time, he will one day experience a thorough penetration. He will then comprehend all things, inside and out, in essentials and nonessentials alike. He will come to comprehend all things and his mind too will be illuminated thoroughly in its full content and great function. This is what is called "the investigation of things." [54]

At this level of realization, one no longer is a tremulous ego looking out upon an alien world, perhaps buffeted by personal whims and desires. One now comprehends the unity in pattern and

process between the self and all things. Such an intimation of cosmic identity engenders a far-reaching sympathy within, which transforms one's life such that one, in the words of Chang Tsai 張載 (1020-1077), is filled with the sense that

Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore, that which fills the cosmos I regard as my body and that which directs the cosmos I regard as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. [55]

Conclusion

The Neo-Confucian cosmos manifests an organic whole. It persists as a *ch'i* continuum which fills the reaches of space and time, patterned through the *t'ai-chi* at its core. This fundamental impulse-pattern, characterized by fluid symmetry, spurs the fecund polarities which sustain the world and engender all things. This cosmos thus comprises a 'great harmony' constituted upon a beginningless and endless creative process.⁵⁶

The person in Neo-Confucianism is held to be a potent microcosm, hence human life should be directed toward realizing the perceived cosmic value of harmony on the human scale. Cultivation involves the concern to purify oneself within to illuminate the *li* and to practice ritual action without to engender interpersonal harmony:

Before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy are aroused it is called equilibrium. Once these feelings have been aroused and attain their due measure and degree it is called harmony. Equilibrium is the great root and harmony the pervasive way of the world.

Once equilibrium and harmony are realized to the utmost, heaven and earth will attain their proper order and all things will flourish. [57]

It is, above all, through cultivating the attitude of reverence that one chastens and tranquilizes one's mind so that the *li* become evident. One thus becomes enlightened to the springs of value and feels awe for the world as their manifestation. Such awe is focused primarily on the human domain, particularly as it has been shaped and layered by the sages of antiquity, for people are the intelligence of creation, nature become self-conscious. Consequently, the fully enlightened revere others and sincerely express this interpersonal regard through ritual action and cultivation.⁵⁸ Neo-Confucian reverence, with its inner/outer, self/other, self/cosmos parameters, thus functions as a *bona fide* religious attitude, which infuses the domain of life with value and fills men with interpersonal concern.

The Neo-Confucian person exists in process. His nature, well-nurtured or not, conditions his perceptions and responses to the world, much as *li* and *hsing* condition the interactions and transformations among phenomena generally.⁵⁹ The moral dispositions understood to constitute human nature are therefore essentially transactional and dynamic rather than abstract and static: *jen* 仁 springs from one's spontaneous feeling of compassion and concern and issues in one's trying one's best, *yi* 義 springs from one's sense of shame and aversion and issues in one's responding to each situation as appropriately as one can, *li* 禮 then provides the established ritual actions which best express *jen* in interpersonal conduct, while *chin* 智 signifies the repository of wisdom and discernment one garners in life and study which

afford him the pleasure of 'understanding' and come into play in difficult situations. Chu Hsi understands these four — *jen* (human-heartedness), *yi* (appropriateness), *li* (ritual action), and *chih* (wisdom/discernment) — as human counterparts to the primal stages in cosmic creativity introduced in the *Book of Change*: *yuan* 元 (origination), *heng* 亨 (flourish), *li* 利 (benefit), and *chen* 貞 (firmness).⁶⁰ The cosmic roots of these virtues too are *immanent* rather than transcendent to the cosmic process, and their orientation is *horizontal* and *life-centered* rather than austere and vertically directed toward the commands of an absent lawgiver and afterlife-centered.

Reverence again was the attitude identified by the mainstream Neo-Confucians as essential to nurturing, realizing and expressing these moral dispositions. Chu Hsi for example maintained that one who lacks reverence can have nothing to say about *jen*, for *jen* must be grounded in and expressed through the attitude of reverence.⁶¹ Moreover, one who expresses *yi* without the underlying attitude of reverence may well become unduly punitive and cruel. As for *li*, ritual action, this is precisely the established way to express reverence as interpersonal regard. And, as *chih*

involves subjective discernment into the cues of appropriate interpersonal conduct, it presupposes the attitude of reverence, lest *chih* devolve into objective knowledge which will give rise to destructive amoral considerations of self-interest. It is axiomatic, therefore, in the Confucian system that one must infuse his life with the attitude of reverence, the well-spring of realization and the air in which the moral dispositions come to life and flourish.

Neo-Confucianism clearly lacks the characteristically religious notions of transcendence, deity, revelation, afterlife, salvation and the like, yet it bears a religious orientation nonetheless. Infused with a deep and abiding sense of awe and reverence as he must, the sincere Neo-Confucian achieves a multi-faceted sense of identity with the cosmos. He thus takes all things and events, those in the human domain in particular, to be sacred in themselves and implicitly honors them and treats them as such. Consequently, the authentic Neo-Confucian life proceeds as an inspired and fulfilling reflection/enactment of the cosmos, and as such it is at once creative and harmony engendering. It is therefore grounded fundamentally in the religious.

ENDNOTES

¹ For surveys of Neo-Confucianism as a philosophy see Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Derk Bodde ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 281-318, and as a religion see Lawrence Thompson, *Chinese Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1979), pp. 112-120.

² See, for example, Wing-tsit Chan trans., *Reflections on Things at Hand* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. xxvii, xxxi, 299 and 306, Ira E. Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 15, 159 n. 60 and 182, and the author's *An Inquiry into the Formation of Chu Hsi's Moral Philosophy*, doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1985, pp. 18-22.

³ As shown in the poetry of Chu Hsi's youth. See the author's *An Inquiry*, pp. 28-61 and 282-287.

⁴ Broadly, cultivation by *ching* 敬 (reverence, seriousness) was advocated in the Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033-1108)/Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) tradition and cultivation by *ch'eng* 誠 (sincerity, authenticity) was advocated in the Lu Chiu-yuan 陸九淵 (1139-1193)/Wang Shou-jen 王守仁 (1472-1529) tradition of Neo-Confucianism. Li T'ing 李侗 (1093-1163), Chu Hsi's teacher, stressed achieving tranquility (*ching* 靜) by 'quiet-sitting'. The practice of cultivation occupies most Neo-Confucian discussion and debate.

⁵ Roger Ames and David Hall present a far-reaching philological and philosophical reexamination of Confucian thought in *Thinking Through Confucius* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987). Their keynotes include an immanent cosmos, conceptual polarity, and tradition as interpretative context.

⁶ It is therefore difficult even to translate Confucian texts into a straightforward English which preserves this sense of wholeness and interconnection and does not introduce an inappropriate sense of dichotomization. Moreover, as Tu Wei-ming asserts:

The familiar dichotomies such as self/society, body/mind, sacred/profane, culture/nature, and creator/creature, in light of the "continuity of being," are relegated to the background. A different mode of thinking, which emphasizes part/whole, inner/outer, surface/depth, root/branches, substance/function, and Heaven/man, becomes prominent. The central question does not involve static, mechanistic, analytical distinctions but subtle relationship, internal resonance, dialogical interplay, and mutual influence. As a result, the cosmos envisioned by Chinese thinkers is a "spontaneously self-generating life process."

From *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985), pp. 8-9.

⁷ Joseph Needham introduced this interpretation of Neo-Confucian thought in *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2: *A History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 496-505. See also the author's "Li and Yi as Immanent: Chu Hsi's Thought in Practical Perspective," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 38, no. 1 (January 1988), 30-46, and Chung-ying Cheng, "Categories of Creativity in Whitehead and Neo-Confucianism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 1979), 251-273.

⁸ Accounts of Neo-Confucian Religiosity which define it in terms of Neo-Confucian transcendence and ideals are therefore deeply misguided. See for example Ha Tai Kim, "The Religious Dimension of Neo-Confucianism," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 27, no. 3 (July 1977), 337-348, Chung-ying Cheng, "Dialectic of Confucian Morality and Metaphysics of Man," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 21, no. 2 (April 1971), 111-123, and Shu-hsien Liu, "Confucian Approaches to the Problem of Transcendence and Immanence," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 22, no. 1 (January 1972), 45-52. Such interpretations must fail because, even at the most basic level, *li* is an immanent principle of polarity and relative relationship and not a transcendent ideal of reason. See Needham, p. 466, and Chan, *Reflections*, p. 22, par. 25.

⁹ Some interpreters, like Tu Wei-ming, pp. 125-126, offer qualified definitions of 'transcendence' for the Confucian context, but this just raises the question why insist on using such a potentially misleading term. 'Immanence' should be one's watchword in Confucian studies.

¹⁰ See Needham, pp. 472-485, Thompson, "Li and Yi," and Yung Sik Kim, "Some Aspects of *Ch'i* in Chu Hsi," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 34, no. 1 (January 1984), 36-53. As A.C. Graham notes, The use of "principle" for *li* . . . has considerable disadvantages. "Principle" suggests a truth formulated in words in order to make deductions, while *li* suggests rather a pattern running through things, even sharing their three dimensions, and variously describable in words. In more recent translations, when having to choose an equivalent for *li*, I have preferred "pattern".

In "What Was New in the Ch'eng/Chu Theory of Human Nature" in Wing-tsit Chan ed., *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 155, no. 5.

¹¹ See Needham, pp. 479-480, and A.C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng I-ch'üan* (London: Lund Humphries, 1958), pp. 12-14, bearing in mind his comment on translating 'li' in no. 10 preceding. See also Wing-tsit Chan comp. and trans., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 500-507.

¹² See Chan, *ibid.*, pp. 641-643. 'Tao' is here considered in its cosmological or 'real' sense rather than in its sense of orthodox cultural transmission. See Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 1-9.

¹³ A.C. Graham notes that 't'ien' was used "to indicate what is objectively given, independent of human actions and desires," in *Two Philosophers*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁴ Needham, p. 473.

¹⁵ For original Neo-Confucian discussions see Chan, *Reflections*, pp. 5-34.

¹⁶ For examples see Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 612-614 and 626-628.

¹⁷ Refer to the author's *An Inquiry*, pp. 144-154, and Graham, "What Was New?" *op. cit.*

¹⁸ For background see Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Derk Bodde trans., 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), vol. 1, pp. 66-75 and 119-131, and Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 14-83.

¹⁹ See Graham, *Two Philosophers*, pp. 23-30.

²⁰ From the *Chung-yung* 中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean), ch. 1. See Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 98-100. Cf. Tu Wei-ming, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Chung-yung* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

²¹ See Needham, pp. 216-345, esp. 232-244 and 273-278, and Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 244-250.

²² That of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy as described in de Bary, *op. cit.*

²³ For discussion see Needham, pp. 483-489, Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 501-505, and Kasoff, *op. cit.*

²⁴ The *locus classicus* of Neo-Confucian treatments of *t'ai-chi* and the derivation of the cosmos is the terse *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* 太極圖說 *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Pole* by Chou Tun-i (1017-1083). Translations with commentaries are given in Fung, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 424-451, Needham, pp. 460-467, and Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 460-465, and *Reflections*, pp. 5-7.

²⁵ As described in the *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo*, *ibid.* See also the author's *An Inquiry*, *op. cit.*

²⁶ There are numerous studies. David Gedalecia, "Excursion into Substance and Function: The Development of the *t'i-yung* Paradigm," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 24, no. 4 (October 1974), 443-451, and Huang Sui-chi, "The Concept of *T'ai-chi* (Supreme Ultimate) in Sung Neo-Confucianism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 1, no. 3/4 (December 1974), 275-294. Also in Chan ed., *Chu Hsi*, Yamanoi Yu, "The Great Ultimate and Heaven in Chu Hsi's Philosophy," pp. 79-92, and Teng Aimin, "On Chu Hsi's Theory of the Great Ultimate," pp. 93-115.

²⁷ Chu Hsi implies as much in his supplement of the fifth chapter of commentary on the *Ta-hsüeh* 大學 (Great Learning). See Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 89.

²⁸ Chi Hsi, *Chu Tzu Ch'üan-shu* 朱子全書 ('Complete' Works of Master Chu). Li Kuang-ti comp. (reprint, Taipei: Kuang-hsueh, 1977), 49:11b. Cf. Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 640, par. 118.

²⁹ This depicted in the *t'ai-chi* complementarity symbol:

³⁰ For example see Chan, *Reflections*, pp. 13, par. 12, and 16, par. 16.

³¹ The unity of heaven and man is a fundamental premiss of Confucianism and much Chinese philosophy. The cosmos is an organic whole of which man is an integral part. See Tu, *Confucian*, pp. 42-

47.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 53.

³³See D.C. Lau trans., *Mencius* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 144.

³⁴What follows is a reflection on the *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo*. See also Judith Berling, "The Paths of Convergence: Interactions of Inner Alchemy Taoism and Neo-Confucianism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 6, no. 2 (June 1979), 125-148.

³⁵Chu Hsi stated: "The *li* of mind is *t'ai-chi*. The action and rest of mind are of *yin* and *yang*." Adapted from Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 628, par. 75.

³⁶*T'ai-chi-t'u shuo*.

³⁷See Wing-tsit Chan, "The Neo-Confucian Solution to the Problem of Evil," in *Studies Presented to Hu Shih on his 65th Birthday* (*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica), vol. 28 (1957), 773-791.

³⁸See Chang Chung-yuan, *Creativity and Taoism* (New York: Julian Press, 1963), pp. 123-168.

³⁹See Russell Hatton, "Ch'i's Role Within the Psychology of Chu Hsi," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 9, no. 4 (December 1982), 441-470, Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 623-626, and the author's *An Inquiry*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁰Tu, *Confucian*, p. 43.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴²See Roger Ames and David Hall, "Getting It Right: On Saving Confucius from the Confucians," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 34, no. 1 (January 1984), 3-23, and the author's "*Li* and *yi*," *op cit*.

⁴³Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth Century 'Enlightenment'," in de Bary ed. *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 166.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 157-158. See also Chan, *Reflections*, pp. 302-303, par. 18.

⁴⁵Adapted from Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 606, par. 10.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, par. 9, with modifications.

⁴⁷See Okada Takehiko, "*Zazen to Seiza*: Prefactory Discussion," Rodney Taylor trans. *Journal of Chinese Religion*, vol. 10 (November 1982), 19-38.

⁴⁸de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation," p. 153.

⁴⁹Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 507-514, and Needham, pp. 468-470. See also Tu, *Centrality*.

⁵⁰These stages are outlined in Chu Hsi's "Preface" to the *Ta-hsueh*. See Daniel Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh: Neo-Confucian Reflection on the Confucian Canon* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986), pp. 77-86, esp. 79-81.

⁵¹See the author's *An Inquiry*, pp. 190-193.

⁵²A *Ta-hsueh* conception later emphasized by Chu Hsi. See Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 84-88 and 610-612, and the author's *An Inquiry*, *op cit*.

⁵³Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 638, par. 115.

⁵⁴Supplement to the *Ta-hsueh*, commentary, ch. 5. Cf. Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 89.

⁵⁵Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 497, and *Reflections*, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁶Chan, *A Source Book*, pp. 500-507. See also Cheng, "Categories of Creativity."

⁵⁷Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 98. For discussion see Tu, *Centrality*, and the author's *An Inquiry*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 73-79.

⁵⁸See Tu, *Confucian*, pp. 113-148, and "Ultimate Transformation as a Communal Act," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 6, no. 2 (June 1979), 237-246.

⁵⁹Graham, "What Was New"

⁶⁰ Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 594.

⁶¹ Thompson, *An Inquiry*, p. 121.

Some definitions of 'Orchestra'

James Siddons

The word 'orchestra' came into modern musical terminology from classical Greek: ὀρχήστρα. It meant 'a dancing place' for the chorus (who both danced and sang) in a Greek theater. When the word entered classical Latin, 'orchestra' meant that section of seats in a Roman theater reserved for senators; indeed, Juvenal used it poetically to mean the entire Roman Senate.¹ Thereafter, 'orchestra' was not a common musical term in Europe until the 18th century, when it suddenly gained currency as the term to refer to the ensemble of musicians at the front (pit) of an opera stage. Both Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), a musical theorist of Germany, and Roger North (*circa* 1651-1734), an English lawyer (and so well versed in Latin) and amateur musician, objected to this misuse of the term.² The fact that the original Greek meaning of 'orchestra' was 'a dancing place' and not 'an ensemble of musicians' was not the only problem, however; at the same time (18th century), the various kinds of instrumental ensembles in Europe were changing. More types of woodwind, and later, brass and percussion instruments, were being added to the ensembles, and such new terms as 'symphony orchestra' and 'chamber orchestra' were about to enter the language. Furthermore, this era was also the time when European culture, including European and American music

and musical terminology, was arriving in East Asia, and an equally careless use of the word 'orchestra' occurred there. Who today, even among non-musicians, has not had an awkward feeling when reading such phrases as 'the Javanese gamelan orchestra' or 'Japanese gagaku 雅樂 orchestra'? The purpose of this essay is to provide, particularly for readers who are not trained musicians, some guidelines for determining when to use, and when not to use, the European word 'orchestra' for various kinds of instrumental ensembles found in Asian-Pacific culture.

CONCEPTIONS OF WHAT AN ORCHESTRA DOES

Today, the general definition of 'orchestra' says that a large number of instruments are joined together to form an ensemble that is capable of performing a variety of musical styles and producing many different instrumental tone colors (French: *timbres*). It also usually says that the strings (violins, violas, cellos, and contrabasses) are the basic units of the orchestra, and that there will be more than one instrument in each section (for example, an orchestra usually has about 14 first violins, and three or four horns, etc). However, European musicians have not always thought of their ensembles and orchestras in

this modern way. Prior to the 18th century, the various kinds of instrumental ensembles in Europe were often thought of in terms of what they performed (opera band, chapel musicians, etc), but more significantly for our study here, they were also associated with some style of music. For example, the beginning of the European orchestra is found in those instrumental ensembles of the Renaissance (16th century) which merely played polyphonic music for voices. In other words, a choral work, instead of being sung by a choir, would be played *verbatim* by a group of instruments (of course, the words would not be heard in such a performance unless, as often happened, a choir also sang along with the instruments). A large amount of medieval and Renaissance music, by such composers as Gabrieli, Monteverdi and many others of their time, was performed in this way. Gradually, composers began to think of the instruments for their unique qualities and to write idiomatic music for specific instruments, and so evolve the modern orchestra. But the point to observe for our present inquiry, is that the maintenance of the harmony and polyphony of the original vocal composition was paramount. The particular instruments that could participate in these performances was quite open choice and selection.

Another example of this prominence of musical structure (that is, the design of the harmony and polyphony) over *timbre* in early European instrumental music was the trio sonata. This ensemble, widely found in the 17th and 18th centuries (those composed by the Italian Arcangelo Corelli are especially famous), had a very misleading name. The musical structure consisted of two duet-like

melodies in the treble; that is, there were two melodies in close range played in an interweaving manner throughout the sonata. They were usually played by two violins or two flutes. In the bass range, a single continuous melody was written in the composer's score, but in performance, much more music than this was heard, because the bass melody was played by two instruments: a low bass instrument such as the 'cello played the simple melody as written, and a harpsichord or organ also played the melody *and* improvised harmony *ad libitum* (that is, devised chords not written in the score spontaneously and freely, though within familiar conventions of style, as the performance went along). This two-instrument bass music was called the *basso continuo* (Italian) or thoroughbass. Thus the so-called *trio* (=three) sonata actually needed four musicians to be performed, and there was a choice of what instrument each of the four would play. Moreover, J.S. Bach took the trio sonata concept and used it for organ: the paired treble melodies, and the harmony, were written out for the hands to play, and the continuo line was played on the pedals, resulting in 'organ trios' (Bach's term) that were, in terms of the performer, actually solos. Again, the point is that the musical style or structure was the primary consideration, and the particular instruments associated with it was a secondary, less defined matter.

After 1750, the foregoing situation quickly changed into the one prevailing in Europe today and which was brought to East Asia in the 19th century. The 19th-century conception of 'orchestra' focussed on the possibilities of sound (*timbre*), and a professional orchestra is now expected to be able to perform

any type of music (style or musical structure), whether it be polyphonic, homophonic, a concerto, an opera or opera selection, or even a work by such composers as Alan Hovhaness (USA, 1911-), Matsudaira Yoritsune 松平頼則 (Japan, 1907-), or Takemitsu Tōru 武満徹 (Japan, 1930-) that either imitates the sounds (*timbres*) of some instrumental style of East Asia, or even combines into one 'orchestra' instruments of East Asia and Europe.

Most histories of orchestration today concentrate on the modern concept of 'orchestra' by reporting when various wind instruments were added to the basic string ensemble and describing various special effects the instruments can produce singly and in combinations. The articles on "Orchestra" and "Orchestration" in *The New Grove Dictionary* (see footnote 2 again) are like this, as are the articles "Kangengaku" 管弦樂 and "Kangengakuho" 管弦樂法 in the principal Japanese music encyclopedia, *Ongaku Daijiten*.³ But it must be remembered that the definition of 'orchestra' introduced to Asia from Europe was the 19th-century one, meaning an ensemble of all the instruments, with multiple instruments on each part of the harmony.⁴

The same *Ongaku Daijiten* article also notes that when the term 'orchestra' came to Japan around 1880, its usage resembled such gagaku terms as 'kangen' 管弦, so it seems that the term 'orchestra' was easily adopted into the Japanese language.⁵ But in fact, the history of gagaku music, like that of early European instrumental music, is primarily the story of the development of a musical style (structure), and the role of the instruments was subservient to this.

A review of some recent research

in gagaku music will illustrate the foregoing point. The Japanese musicologist Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 noted some years ago a correlation between the melodic lines of the different instruments of gagaku. He demonstrated several instances of this. For example, he noted that in some of the ancient gagaku music, the highest notes of the strums of the biwa 琵琶, a lute, were the same notes as those in the melody of the fue 笛, a treble flute.⁶ By thus comparing the biwa and fue melodies, which are played simultaneously but in bass and treble ranges respectively, Hayashi was able to show that the fue interpolated additional notes into the biwa melody. The melody in the biwa part is very slow in gagaku compositions, making it natural for the agile flute to add in decorative notes as the music progresses in performance. However, this adding of new notes all took place centuries ago; modern gagaku scores have all the added notes written in, and nothing is improvised in a modern performance. But in a few medieval scores surviving today, the additional fue notes are not yet written in.⁷

This same correlation has also been found between the biwa and another gagaku instrument, the shō 笙 (Chinese: *sheng*), a wind instrument that has 17 bamboo pipes; usually, about five, six, or seven of the pipes are played together to form a tone-cluster. The Japanese musicologist and composer Masumoto Kikuko 増本喜久子 has demonstrated that the lowest note of the tone-clusters of the shō are the same as the notes of the biwa's melody.⁸ This kind of correlation between two musical parts — a low instrument playing a melody slowly and simply while one or more treble instruments simultaneously play embel-

lished versions of the melody — is known in Western music as heterophony, and heterophony is a pan-Eurasian phenomenon. Heterophony is not only very ancient, it is still an effective musical structure today. For example, in a jazz performance, we often hear the piano playing a popular tune while a lead instrument (perhaps saxophone) plays variations on the tune by adding various kinds of extra notes and instrumental effects in and around the basic version of the melody. This relation between the jazz piano and the jazz lead instrument is the same as that between the gagaku biwa and the fue or shō: one plays a simple version of the tune and the other plays an elaborated version of it simultaneously. And again, we see that the essence of gagaku music is the musical structure (that is, how the musical lines ranging from bass up to treble relate to each other) and not the timbre of the instruments.

It might be good to mention at this point that while the diverse kinds of European, American, and Asian music discussed above can be shown to share common ideas in musical structure, that is not to imply that they are historically related or “are the same kind of music,” so to speak. By comparison, all flowers have the same structure of roots and blooms, yet look vastly different from each other. The fact that different kinds of music that share a common musical structure manage to sound utterly different from each other only demonstrates what a vast and wonderful world musical creativity is.

The gamelan music of Indonesia also has a musical structure that determines how the instruments are employed. Although the exact style of gamelan music varies between the

different regions (Java, Bali etc) of Indonesia, each performance is always organized around a melody familiar to the musicians. About 1,000 such basic melodies are in use today. The gamelan instruments are mostly gongs and xylophones (a few drums, a flute and bowed fiddle, and singers are also often in the ensemble), and they all play the melody simultaneously. But, as in gagaku, the low-sounding instruments play the notes of the melody slowly while the upper-range instruments play the melody *and also* interpolate additional notes which embellish and elaborate the basic tune. One ethnomusicologist has referred to these latter ones as “paraphrasing instruments.”⁹

The reader may now see why it is awkward to refer to traditional instrumental ensembles of East Asia as ‘orchestras.’ The modern usage of the word ‘orchestra’ implies not only a large group of diverse instruments, but also the ability to perform a wide variety of musical styles, including many musical structures. This diversity of capability is lacking in the ensembles of East Asia, and of Europe before 1700: it is equally awkward to refer to Renaissance ensembles as ‘orchestras.’ In East Asia, no one expects the instrumental ensembles of Japanese gagaku, or of the Confucian temple music of Taiwan, or of Indonesian gamelan, or of the court dance of Thailand, to play anything except their traditional repertory. The instruments of these ensembles are not expected to play anything other than what the musical structure of the compositions or improvisatory traditions require. This is why these groups are not orchestras: they do not do what the (modern) orchestra does.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

Turning now to the modern orchestra as it is commonly understood today (that is, the symphony orchestra as developed in Europe in the 19th century), we may consider some more kinds of instrumental ensembles that are frequently seen and heard in modern East Asia. However, whereas the foregoing discussion has shown why traditional East Asian instrumental ensembles are not orchestras, the following ensembles are all recent innovations, derived from and modeled on the modern symphony orchestra, and used for performing diverse and innovative music in the same way as the symphony orchestra.

1. Band

The European military band was a familiar sight in 19th-century Asia, as one or more accompanied almost every diplomatic mission and military expedition that came over from Europe or America. In the United States particularly, the military band became associated with school and college sports to such an extent that by the 1930s, many schools were supplementing or replacing their string orchestras with bands. This in turn created a need for music of high quality composed specifically for the band, and gradually composers of educational music met this need. Today, many schools in colleges in the United States and East Asia have bands of 50, and sometimes 80 or more, members, capable of playing transcriptions of standard orchestral symphonies as well as original band music. These large bands are often called symphonic bands or concert bands, to distinguish them from military bands and the school

marching bands seen at sports events.

The only substantial difference between the symphony orchestra and the symphonic band is that the orchestra's string instruments are replaced by brass and woodwind instruments (trumpet, clarinet etc; hence the term 'wind band' is also used, especially in Britain). Otherwise the capability of playing a diverse range of musical styles is the same.

2. The Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra

In 1977, the Urban Council of Hong Kong authorized the creation of the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra, giving it the responsibilities of promoting traditional Chinese music and exploring new techniques and styles. Consequently, this group is a true orchestra, as the diversity of instrumental sounds and playing techniques is a primary concern, nor is the orchestra limited to one style of music. Indeed, the orchestra has commissioned hundreds of new compositions in various styles and also arrangements of traditional songs. One of its members, Yuen Shi-chun 阮仕春, is a liuqin 柳琴 performer who is experimenting with various technical improvements in the design and manufacture of his instrument.

The derivation of the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra from the modern European orchestra is easy to detect when an audience sees it in performance. The conductor, Kuan Nai-chung 關迺忠, stands on a center-front podium just like a European conductor, and the musicians sit in groups of like instruments, facing him in a semi-circle. But whereas the European orchestra would seat groups of violins, violas, woodwinds, and so forth, the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra seats groups of liuqin, erhu 二胡, and

similar Chinese instruments instead. Most of the orchestra's repertory is in European harmony, often modified to accommodate a Chinese folk song or instrumental style. It may be seen, then, that the relation between the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra and the European symphony orchestra is the same as between the symphonic band and the symphony orchestra, except that whereas the band substitutes wind instruments for the orchestra's strings, the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra substitutes traditional Chinese instruments.

Part of the fascination of listening to a performance of the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra lies in the unconscious way in which the listener mentally compares the various sounds and timbres of the instruments with the European ones that they are substituting for. Sometimes the orchestra sounds very close to a European symphony orchestra, and sometimes it takes on surprising shades of exotic timbres. This constant changing of the degree of difference in the sound from that of the violin-based European orchestra always keeps the careful listener intrigued.

3. Combinations of European and Asian Instruments

As mentioned above, a number of modern composers East and West have written works that either call for the European orchestra to imitate the sounds of Asian instruments, or which combine instruments of Asia and Europe into an ensemble that is used orchestrally.

A particularly significant Japanese composer in this regard is Miki Minoru 三木稔 (1930-). Although many Asian composers are now writing for East-West combinations of instruments, most began their training by studying

Western harmony on the piano, and became interested in East Asian instruments only subsequently. Miki is exceptional among the Japanese composers in that he has studied the traditional Japanese instruments since childhood; indeed, several older members of his childhood home were skilled performers on Japanese instruments. It was not until high school that Miki became interested in European art music (as a result of singing in the school choir), and he went on to study music composition (European styles) at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music 東京藝術大學 (Japanese: Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku).¹⁰ In other words, Miki's earliest music learning was in the idioms of the native Japanese music, and only later did he expand that experience to include European music and instruments. This pattern is the opposite of most other Asian and Western composers who are writing for combinations of Asian and Western instruments. As a result, Miki's understanding of the Japanese instruments, and his orchestral use of them as a composer, is uniquely intimate.

An example of Miki's combining of Japanese and European instruments is his *Symphony for Two Worlds*,¹¹ which has the Japanese title 急の曲 . The score calls for a complete complement of European strings, winds and percussion, and seated on stage risers behind them, a variety of Japanese instruments, including *noh* 能 and *gagaku* flutes, four *shakuhachi* 尺八, various kinds of *shamisen* 三味線, *biwa*, *koto* 琴, and drums. As the music is performed, one easily notices how the different melodic lines are passed around to different instruments of the multi-cultural orchestra. For example, a short, tuneful idea might be played smoothly on the violins, then immediate-

ly heard again in the dry, percussive way employed to compare and contrast the timbres of his orchestra permeate Miki's symphony.

NOTES

- ¹ "Orchestra," *Cassell's Latin Dictionary*. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls.
- ² "Orchestra," *The New Grove Dictionary* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 13, p. 679.
- ³ *Ongaku Daijiten* 音楽大事典, 6 vols.
- ⁴ *Idem*, p. 640. My translation: "[Orchestra]" indicates an ensemble performance by all kinds of instruments grouped together on a large scale."
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Hayashi Kenzo, *Gagaku* (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha 音楽之友社, 1969), pp. 96, 100-101, and 103-104.
- ⁷ Robert Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 118.
- ⁸ Masumoto Kikuko, *Gagaku* (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha, 1968), pp. 16-17.
- ⁹ Ernst Heim, "Indonesia, II.1: Gamelan," *The New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 9, p. 175.
- ¹⁰ Biographical sketches of Miki and the other composers mentioned in this essay are in *The New Grove Dictionary* and *Ongaku Daijiten*.
- ¹¹ A recording of *Symphony for Two Worlds* is on Camerata (Tokyo) LP CMT4001, released November 1983.

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An Incident of Extraterritoriality in Japan

The Vyse Affair

Louis G. Perez

In late 1865 a minor incident involving the desecration of aboriginal graves by three Englishmen created a diplomatic tempest that dissipated almost as suddenly as it had materialized on the frigid horizon of Japan's northern island of Hokkaido. The Vyse Affair, as it came to be known was an obscure incident that warrants but a scant few lines in the written history of either country.¹ Yet this curious case embodies an excellent microcosm of the early foreign relations between those two countries. First, it represents a clash of two equally-arrogant cultures, mutually ignorant of each other's socio-political system. Second, Britain played the role of representative and defender of the militarily superior West which had imposed an "Unequal Treaty" system on Japan. Third, the Japanese government struggled to cope with this diplomatic conundrum despite an imperfect understanding of that treaty system. This struggle was complicated by a rapidly worsening domestic political climate that eventually crushed the reigning Tokugawa government between obdurate demands of the West and a steadily growing domestic political opposition. Fourth, the scenario was played against a backdrop of the threat of renewed violence that had poisoned the relations between the West and Japan up to that time. That violence included not

only the much-discussed passionate random acts of Japanese brutality, but also the equally barbarous acts of impersonally-official military responses by the Western powers in retaliation.

Violence and bloodshed, assaults, murders, bombardments, and indemnities characterized the relationship between Japan and the Westerners as the Japanese struggled to order their own house while facing the increasing menace (as they saw it) of the predatory West.²

And finally, the Vyse Affair demonstrated that while a hypocritical West pretended that the *raison d'être* for the Unequal Treaty System was the putative moral superiority of modern Western legal systems, in reality the Japanese system was neither more imperfect nor more barbaric, but merely different.

Among the most objectionable aspects of these treaties was the principle of extraterritoriality which stipulated that any foreigner charged with a crime in Japan could be tried only under his own national law administered by his diplomatic consul sitting as a judge.³ Almost before the ink was dry on these treaties the Japanese recognized a dangerous potential for injustice in several aspects of the system that came to be known as Consular Jurisdiction. (1) Consuls acting

as judges might exhibit judicial bias due to prior knowledge and/or existing relations with the defendants.⁴ (2) The Japanese plaintiffs were seriously hampered by their unfamiliarity with the foreign legal system and by the fact that the proceedings were conducted in the language of the consul. (3) Defendants would necessarily take cases out of Japan, usually to their home country and Japanese plaintiffs who wished to follow the case on appeal would have to bear the expense of international travel. Even if consuls stringently sought to overcome these potential prejudices in order to render impartial justice, most were not trained in the law and therefore were likely to make perhaps trivial procedural mistakes that could result in mistrial or reversal. And finally, a propensity among foreigners to "stick together" and consciously or unconsciously, favor their bretheren made the attainment of dispassionate, objective justice unlikely. Unfortunately, many of these potential dangers became reality in the Vyse Affair.

Although on the surface the case was a relatively simple one, Vyse, the British Consul at Hakodate, managed to turn it into malfeasance and misfeasance of duty, obstruction of justice, judicial prejudice and impropriety, international theft and smuggling, perjury, and attempted subornation of an appellate court justice; in short, sufficient grist to keep the wheels of justice grinding for a decade and enough legal problems to keep an army of attorneys on retainer for a generation! Yet except for being forced to resign, Vyse went relatively unpunished for his misdeeds because an even worse injustice was committed by the British Government itself. Vyse's sins paled in comparison to those of the Foreign Office officials, who after discovering what Vyse

had done, proceeded to bury the case and thereby themselves became guilty of obstruction of justice. By these actions the British Government demonstrated clearly that the Western guardians of civilization and justice were as imperfect and as capable of abuse as the "uncivilized" Japanese.

As I have suggested, the case began as a simple problem that was allowed to develop into a very complex and messy affair indeed. In the early 1860's Western naturalists became intrigued by the presence of a caucasoid aboriginal race in the northernmost Japanese island of Hokkaido whom the Japanese called Ainu. The first Westerners who happened upon the Ainu supposed that this was perhaps the "Lost Tribe of Israel" or even the proverbial "missing link" between *homo sapiens* and his prehistoric ancestors.⁵ Western scientists were not satisfied with anthropological study of the race, many naturalists wished to extend their investigation to the examination of the skeletons of long-dead Ainu. Rumors spread in the 1860's that even the staid British Museum was willing to pay quietly a rich bounty for complete Ainu skeletons.⁶

The so-called "Unequal Treaties" severely circumscribed the rights of foreigners to travel outside of the immediate environs of the few treaty ports and made visits to the Ainu areas very difficult indeed. The villages of Mori and Ootosebe, the nearest Ainu villages to the treaty port of Hakodate, were outside the 25-mile radius to which foreign access was allowed by treaty.⁷ Hakodate had a rather blighted history anyway. When Commodore Matthew Perry visited in 1854 he had proclaimed it "a pill of a place,"⁸ and Captain Henry Holmes five years later called it "a cold cheerless

place.”⁹ A year later in 1860 Sir Rutherford Alcock while dropping off Charles Hodgson, the first British Consul there said

A functionary can hardly be much to be envied, though a fortune and honours were at the end of a short term. As neither of them usually fell to the lot of a British Consul, I would only hope that the Consul of Hakodate might carry within him and about him something to compensate such utter isolation and banishment in the prime of life.¹⁰

Hakodate had been among the original treaty posts demanded by Townsend Harris in the Treaty of Shimoda in 1858 (the pact that had formed the basis of the Unequal Treaty system in Japan) simply because it lay astride the American whaling fleet's hunting routes and therefore was a logical place to stop for food, water and coal. The British were there simply because the Americans were, and the Russians kept a consul there for identical reasons. After about 1860 only the less-competent diplomats were posted there. It was “the end of the earth” for the men who were marooned there and they knew it. The port in 1865 reportedly had only seven foreign residents¹¹ who apparently all desperately hated each other. The people who came to Japan in general were a rough-and-ready lot. The future Lord Redesdale, Algernon Mitford said of the British residents,

The vast majority of our pioneers were as noble men as ever set sail eastward or westward: but of that flotsam and jetsam of disreputable humanity for which new shores, and especially new ports, have such an attraction we had more than our just share.¹²

Unfortunately the history of the Vyse

Affair was to give ample proof of that supposition.

The Japanese were somewhat embarrassed by the backward Ainu, particularly since the foreigners paid so much attention to them. The Ainu in the early 1860's were

destined . . . to become the target for the most indefatigable and remorseless zeal of the approaching invasion of missionaries, Lady Travelers and anthropologists.¹³

Therefore when a small group of Westerners in Hokkaido mounted a ‘scientific expedition’ in the fall of 1865 to an Ainu settlement near the village of Mori it had to be done secretly, without the knowledge, let alone the permission of the Japanese Government. The foray was led by the young British ornithologist Henry Whitely,¹⁴ whose father was a noted naturalist with the British Museum. In Whitely's party was Henry Trone, Constable at the British Consulate in Hakodate, George Kemish, jailer at that consulate as well as their Japanese servants. The young men opened several Ainu graves and brought back to Hakodate a number of skeletons. Before they could pack up their grisly booty for removal to the West, however, Yamatono Koide, the Japanese Governor of Hokkaido, learned of the grave desecration from John Henry Duus, an American trader in Hakodate. On Dec. 13, 1865 the Governor lodged a complaint against the expedition with British Consul Vyse.¹⁵

At this point Vyse, who had as much experience in China and Japan as any foreigner at the time,¹⁶ could have disposed of the case to everyone's satisfaction. A quick *pro forma* trial, a nominal fine, perhaps a perfunctory sentence of

incarceration that could be later commuted or mitigated by an appellate judge, a formal apology to the Japanese government and perhaps a personal apology and even the payment of a small cash indemnity to the offended Ainu relatives would have sufficed. This is precisely what finally happened some eleven months later, but only after Vyse vacillated and the Foreign Office committed serious breaches of international law.

Instead, Vyse attempted to squirm past the Governor's charges on legal technicalities. First he attempted to bully the Governor, demanding revelation of the names of the foreigners who had informed on the three Englishmen as a prerequisite to any trial. When the Governor refused to accede to this demand, Vyse went along with the Governor's insistence on a speedy trial on December 15 only because he knew that the case would hinge upon the word of three British citizens against that of a Japanese. Besides, the treaties provided that the three British defendants could be tried only under British law, in the English language, and before a British consular agent, namely Vyse himself and Vyse knew that because Yamatono had not actually witnessed the incident, his testimony would be deemed inadmissible as hearsay evidence. Vyse then confidently proceeded with the case and quickly ruled that the defendants were found innocent for lack of evidence. And, since British law prohibited "double jeopardy," Whitely, Kemish and Trone could not be tried again for the same crime.¹⁷

Governor Yamatono knew nothing of British legal procedure but he did recognize patent injustice when he saw it. He stormed from the proceedings and later announced that he would lodge a

formal complaint with the Japanese Foreign Ministry which would make representations to Sir Harry Parkes, the British Consul General in Edo (the former name of Tokyo). Vyse then realized that he had seriously under-estimated Yamatono. Hoping to hop off this hot seat, Vyse then tried to pre-empt the Governor by surrendering legal jurisdiction by appeal to Parkes.

Parkes, who had extensive experience in China but had been in Japan only about six months,¹⁸ had a reputation of being truculent, belligerent, and somewhat impatient with the Japanese. Given Vyse's subsequent actions, it is reasonable to speculate that he expected Parkes to live up to his reputation and bury the matter. Apparently Vyse failed to note that Section 100 of the 1865 Order in Council specified that the recently established Supreme Court in Shanghai would serve as the court of appeal for consular jurisdiction cases in Japan.¹⁹ Parkes therefore returned the case to Vyse with the instructions that if indeed an appeal was to be made, it was to be sent to Shanghai.

In the meantime, the developments in Hakodate had continued apace. Since the three foreigners were extraterritorialized by treaty and therefore could not be detained and/or questioned by Japanese authorities, the Governor had to settle for questioning Kemish and Trone's Japanese servant. That unfortunate soul, Shotaro by name, was tortured into a confession which implicated all three men.²⁰ Curiously, another participant stepped into this burgeoning fiasco. James J. Enslie British Constable at Hakodate requested that Vyse and Russell B. Robertson, another British resident, accompany him to the Governor's Customs House on December 20. There, Enslie attempted to

bargain for the release of the Japanese servant Shotaro in exchange for the missing skeletons. He maintained that he had only recently discovered their whereabouts and was simply acting as a disinterested agent in the hopes of saving the hapless Shotaro from more torture. When questioned as to how he had come by this information he answered, "that is my business . . . I have not come here to be examined. I have come simply to endeavour to save an innocent Japanese from punishment."²¹

Not surprisingly, Yamatono was suspicious. Impolitically, he not only accused Ensle of complicity in the original crime, he included Vyse, Robertson, and the entire foreign community of Hakodate as co-conspirators. Only days before, no one seemed to know of the location of the skeletons, now apparently *everyone* did. Vyse was righteously indignant (or feigned to be so) that his honesty and integrity were being challenged. By that time Governor Yamatono had summoned the Ainu witnesses to the grave desecration and twice demanded that the case be reopened.²²

On January 8, 1866 Yamatono asked Vyse to visit him at the Customs House and informed him that he now had positive information that the bones were in Ensle's house. He formally requested that Vyse turn over the skeletons to him. Vyse told Yamatono "I can assure you I have searched high and low, and done my utmost to settle the matter. If the skulls were discovered I would be the first to deliver them up and straightaway punish the men."²³ Two days later the Governor informed Vyse that he intended to file another charge against the three Englishmen for a separate raid on the graves near the the village of Otosebe. In the face of

these new developments, the three Englishmen finally confessed to Vyse and admitted digging up four skulls and three skeletons. They claimed that they had thrown one complete skeleton into the sea because "it smelled," and had hidden the rest at Ensle's house, the latter having no knowledge of the contents until December 28 when he offered them to Yamatono in exchange for the release of the Japanese servant Shotaro. Not surprisingly, the trial was reopened, the three were convicted and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment at hard labor and thirteen remaining skeletons were turned over to the Japanese for reinterment.²⁴

Vyse tried throughout this entire affair to cloud the issue at hand. He had written to Parkes on December 19 complaining bitterly about the unseemly conduct of the American trader John Henry Duus who had, in his estimation, precipitated the whole problem by informing the Governor as to the crime in the first place. He argued that the Japanese did not care much about the Ainu,²⁵ but had seized upon this minor issue to embarrass the British. As to the Americans, he felt that such actions calculated to win favor with the Japanese against the British

... is most dangerous to foreign interest in Japan not only in a commercial point of view but politically also, it is conduct that is calculated to cause the greatest excitement, as well as feelings of hatred towards foreigners by the natives not only at this port, but throughout the country and might perhaps terminate out of fierce vindictiveness, to which we know the Japanese are so prone, in bloodshed.²⁶

In addition, Vyse had twice written

to Parkes complaining of the Governor's "rude and abrupt manner for which no reason is to be attributed."²⁷ On December 26, after the Governor had again demanded that the trial of the three be reopened, Vyse asked that Parkes make representations to the Japanese Foreign Ministry so

that some measures may be adopted to prevent a recurrence of one of the greatest instances of contempt of court, perhaps on record and if allowed to continue unchecked will tend greatly to upset British Jurisdiction in Japan.²⁸

In effect, Vyse tried to throw up smoke screens to hide his own incompetence. Apparently he hoped that he could appeal to Parkes' now legendary fear of American intervention in Japan and perhaps also to British xenophobia. To Parkes' credit, he did not take the bait. In a dispatch to Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon²⁹ on January 30, 1866 on the subject of the Governor's alleged lack of decorum he opined,

I may observe that the impression I derive from a careful perusal of these documents is, that considering the gravity of the outrage committed by the three British subjects, and the mode in which the inquiry has been conducted, the Governor has displayed considerable moderation.³⁰

Regarding Ensle's conduct of trying to extort Shotaro's release in exchange for the skeletons, Parkes later wrote to Clarendon that Ensle's action

compromises both himself and Her Majesty's Consul in the eyes of the Japanese Authorities and led the Governor to conclude that Her Majesty's

Consular officers, were desirous of screening the offenders, instead of using their best efforts to bring them to justice as the Japanese Government had a right to expect.³¹

On the subject of the American Consul's original complaint to the Governor regarding the grave desecration, Parkes wrote to Clarendon,

I am of the opinion, however, that the latter [Duus] would have been perfectly justified in disowning acts of this criminal character, which . . . are calculated to excite much ill-feeling in the minds of the native population against foreigners . . .³²

Parkes was not so charitable and gracious, however, when he wrote to the Japanese Foreign Ministry on April 9, 1866. In the first part of his letter he offered an official apology on the part of Her Majesty's Government for the actions of the three grave robbers, but he also hastened to say that he hoped

that when any Japanese commits violence towards a British subject, the Japanese Authorities will show themselves equally prompt to punish the offender, and to prevent, by a rigorous execution of their laws, a recurrence of the crime.³³

He of course was referring to the spate of assassinations and assaults against foreigners by Japanese xenophobes. Fully a dozen foreigners had been killed in unprovoked attacks by Japanese swordsmen in the previous ten years and Parkes himself had been the target of at least two serious attacks.³⁴ The crimes of Whitely, Kemish and Trone no doubt paled in comparison with these physical attacks against foreigners, but the very

basis of the extraterritorial provisions of the "Unequal Treaties" was that the legal system of Japan was inferior to those of the West. Yet, as we shall see, the British Government and Parkes himself would act in a fundamentally illegal manner. Parkes in many ways posed as the guardian of civilized justice, in many cases actually presuming to act as a kind of Japanese Supreme Court which could determine whether new Japanese laws were in accordance with the treaties.³⁵ Yet under no interpretation can it be said that the British even attempted a "rigorous execution of their laws . . ." Fortunately for Parkes, there was at this time a brief respite in this very tense and dangerous period of Japanese-British relations. In November of 1865 Parkes had spear-headed a Western demand for ratification of the Unequal Treaties by the Emperor.³⁶ The Tokugawa Bakufu had a scant two years remaining in power before being replaced by the restored Emperor Meiji in 1868.

On January 30 Parkes summarized the events for Whitehall in the above-cited report to Clarendon. On that same day he sent off a scathing letter to Vyse in which he criticized the way that the Governor had been handled. He noted that the two assessors that Vyse had appointed to witness the trial, Alfred Howell and James Marr, both had complained that the first trial should not have been held because the evidence was incomplete. Parkes told him that he should have explained the inadmissibility of hearsay evidence to the Governor and then waited until the latter could summon the Ainu witnesses.

I regret not only that such important evidence should have been lost to the case, but also the confusion which its exclusion must have created in the mind

of the Japanese Government as to the practice and justice of your court.³⁷

In that same letter he relieved Vyse of his post instructing him to settle the case quickly and to await his replacement.

In late February and early March two minor incidents kept the political cauldron boiling in Hakodate. On February 17 Parkes heard that E. E. Rice,³⁸ the American Commercial Agent in Hakodate had been circulating a story that Parkes had himself somehow obtained two Ainu skulls in Hakodate and had taken them back to Yokohama aboard the *H.M.S. Princess Royal*. Quite understandably Parkes was upset to hear this and demanded that Vyse investigate the source of this unfounded rumor. When Rice told Vyse that Alfred Howell had given him that information, Vyse questioned Howell. The latter said that he *might* have said something to Rice regarding the skulls being on the same ship with Parkes, and he *may* have told him that he had *heard* that as to an Ainu skull, Parkes "a long time ago expressed a wish to obtain one, although he never did so to me."³⁹ This little misunderstanding over hearsay is indicative of the tense atmosphere in Hakodate. It also demonstrated that the Americans were every bit as culpable as the British in stirring up trouble in their miserable outpost.

Even as Vyse was clearing up this little episode, Rice became involved in yet another contretemps when he allegedly informed Governor Yamatono that the sentence Vyse had imposed on the three Englishmen was quite lenient by international legal standards. Yamatono complained to Vyse that Rice had informed him that the common penalty should have been a two-year sentence *and* a \$500 fine. When questioned by Vyse

Rice said that he had merely told Yamatono that the *maximum* penalty was such a fine or imprisonment. "Undoubtedly the interpreter misunderstood or misinterpreted my remark."⁴⁰

Not surprisingly, when Vyse asked to be allowed to visit the Ainu villages in order to apologize on behalf of Great Britain, for the actions of the three Englishmen, Yamatono refused. Without question the Governor must have been beside himself with frustrations. Seemingly at every turn the foreigners had obstructed his attempts to get to the bottom of the grave desecration issue. Vyse had vacillated; Trone and Kemish had attempted to obstruct the arrest of a Japanese citizen (their servant Shotaro) claiming that his employment extra-territorialized him; Ensle had attempted to trade the bones for Shotaro; Rice had misinformed him as to the penalties, and now Vyse wanted permission to pay the Ainus a paltry 1000 *ichibus* about \$335)! The Governor demanded an official apology and an indemnity to the Japanese Government as well. After all, he argued, Trone and Whitely were consular employees. He did not say so, but the implication was abundantly clear that heretofore the Japanese Government had been held accountable for the actions of its citizens whenever foreigners had been injured or insulted. It was only justice that the British Government should similarly assume moral and fiscal responsibilities.⁴¹

Perhaps the greatest injustice committed by Vyse is the complaints he made against Yamatono, especially in his March 8 report to Parkes when he said "had it not been for the complications arising from the Governor's conduct the matter might have been long ago settled . . ."⁴² Fortunately, Parkes saw through

Vyse's charade. As noted above he had reported to Lord Clarendon on January 30 that he thought that "the Governor has displayed considerable moderation."⁴³

From this point forward the Japanese authorities were excluded from further developments. And therein lies the fundamental problem. Up to this point this brief contretemps was nothing more than a badly-managed diplomatic embarrassment; basically a "tempest in a teapot" that would inevitably dissipate as quickly as it had arisen. However, as the case was bludgeoned first by Vyse and eventually by the British Government, the Japanese Government was kept completely in the dark, even after Whitehall had ample evidence of Vyse's subsequent crimes. Keeping the Japanese uninformed must be considered by itself a reprehensible moral crime. Simply stated, since Vyse's actions had taken place primarily in Japan, he should have been called to task in Japanese jurisdiction. The Treaties stipulated that foreigners were extraterritorialized only to the extent that they must be tried in their own courts. They did not excuse crimes committed in Japan against Japanese; they merely decreed the manner in which justice was to be rendered. Hereafter, as Alice said in Wonderland, the case "got curiouser and curiouser."

In mid-March Vyse escorted the three British miscreants to Yokohama in order to place them aboard a ship that would take them to their imprisonment in Hong Kong. Parkes and Vyse visited them in the Yokohama Consular jail on March 31 to question them regarding the location of the still-missing skeletons. Trone, the young constable, informed Parkes that the bones had not been tossed into the sea, but rather had been mailed to England.

He and Kemish refused to say to whom they had been mailed, but promised to have them returned to Japan. Whitely, however, later confided to Parkes that they had been addressed to "Col. Vyse, Stoke Park, Windsor," a brother of Vyse. When told by Parkes of this information Vyse affected a surprised and offended reaction. The prisoners were once again questioned by both Parkes and Vyse. They explained that they had secreted the bones in a wooden case containing some curios that Vyse was sending home.⁴⁴ Capt. Vyse appeared to be astounded and accused the three of "wilful falsehoods and declared that he "places no reliance in any of their representations." He then requested leave to go to England to "vindicate my brother's position in this distressing case."⁴⁵ Since Parkes had already relieved Vyse of his post and since Vyse had not received home leave for some time, the request was granted.

While Vyse was in Shanghai awaiting a ship home, he had a brief interview with Sir Edmund Hornby, Chief Justice of the Supreme Consular Court. Hornby, who was something of a gadfly,⁴⁶ wrote an unsolicited letter to the Foreign Office expressing his outrage that a man such as Vyse should have his name bismirched in such a manner. He said in a letter to the Foreign Office

As to the 'Ainos' [SIC] who are looked upon by the Japanese as an inferior race of beings — only fit to be oppressed and ill-treated, it is really clear to my mind that the Japanese Governor must have had some other idea in his head than the simple one of taking up their quarrel, and this makes one suspect the whole proceeding to have been planned with the view of making capital, and that the Governor has availed himself to the utmost of it to Captain Vyse's disadvantage.

He concluded that in his estimation Governor Yamatono had "made a mountain out of a molehill."⁴⁷ The problem here is that Hornby was to be the very man to whom the case would be sent to on appeal. Under British law, Vyse's course Hornby's letter should have in and attempted subornation of a judge. Of course Hornby's letter should have in and of itself constituted a miscarriage of justice since it was in effect judicial prejudice. The fact that Hornby subsequently reviewed the case and commuted the sentence to time served by the three men was at best questionable conduct. By law he should have disqualified himself. I shall speak more to this question in my concluding remarks of this study.

Vyse finally arrived in England where he proceeded to "investigate" the case. In the ensuing correspondence between Vyse and the Foreign Office at Whitehall, it became increasingly obvious that Vyse was doing as much to cloud the issue as he was to clear his brother's name. When Vyse began to write from the offices of his solicitor, alarm bells must have begun to go off in Whitehall.

First of all, Vyse did not report his arrival in England as was customary for Foreign Service personnel. Second, when he eventually did give Whitehall a report of his "investigation," he was not very specific as to what he had discovered. He informed Under-Secretary Hammond (who had been assigned Vyse's case) that he had managed to find the bones and have them returned to Japan, but that they had never really been delivered to his brother.⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon, for whom Hammond was working, had some questions he wanted answered. In a June 29 memorandum to Hammond Clarendon

specified four questions that Vyse must answer. His answers, Clarendon said, would determine "whether Captain Vyse can be retained in the Consular Service in Japan."⁴⁹ On July 3 Hammond incorporated these questions in a letter to Vyse asking him

- (1) By whose order and at whose instigation and under what authority were these bones sent from Japan . . . and cleared through the Custom House in London by the agent of Mssrs. Smith Elder and Co. . .
- (2) By whom, and on whose authority was a portion at least of those bones sold and produced at a scientific meeting in London.
- (3) You say . . . you did not find the bones at your brother's residence . . . [but rather] some other place. Which other place . . . ?
- (4) From whom have you now obtained possession of the bones . . . when did you despatch them to Japan, and by what ship, and to whom were they consigned.⁵⁰

If Vyse had previously thought that this problem could be finessed away in "Old Boy" style, this message certainly should have told him that Whitehall was *very serious* about the affair, to the extent that they had already started to investigate on their own.⁵¹ Vyse's reply from the offices of his solicitor were at best incomplete and ill-considered. Responding on July 4 he addressed the four questions in turn. On the first question he explained that the bones had been hidden by Trone in a box which contained "some of my own Japanese curios" and had been addressed to Col. Vyse because Trone has a brother in nearby Eton who could intercept the package. As to the second question, he denied any knowledge that the bones had

been sold or appeared at a scientific meeting. On the third question he said that the bones had never reached his brother's residence, but rather had been taken to a naturalist named Davis in London, from whom Vyse had retrieved them. Finally, Vyse said that he had shipped the bones to Japan in care of the consul at Hakodate on June 26. More interesting than Vyse's reply, however, are the comments scribbled in the margin by Clarendon. He wrote "How did it happen that the bones were intercepted between the consignees and Col. Vyse's address?" and "This is very unsatisfactory and evasive."⁵²

Hammond incorporated Clarendon's questions in his next message to Vyse the next day.⁵³ Vyse responded on July 10 that "It is supposed that it was a relation of the prisoner Trone, who obtained possession of the cases in question, producing an authority to act thus . . ." He assured Hammond that he did not know for certain, but would pass on the information as soon as he found out.⁵⁴

At this point it appears that Whitehall had serious doubts regarding Vyse's continued viability as a Foreign Service Officer. Clarendon requested that Hammond prepare a memorandum regarding the case incorporating all the correspondence from Vyse, Parkes, and other Foreign Office personnel. In this "Memorandum Respecting Captain Vyse and the Aino [sic] Bones," dated July 12, 1866 Hammond criticized Vyse's "injudicious and unjudicial handling of the case" and found his subsequent correspondence regarding the retrieval of the skeletons, "studiously vague." Hammond hastened to say that he would prefer to presume Vyse's innocence, but one must consider that an "alternate version" was possible, namely,

that Captain Vyse was a party to the transaction, that it was with his connivance, if not by his direction that the bones were shipped to England and that his peculiar management of the case when the complaint was first lodged by the Japanese Authorities was prompted by a desire to screen those who had acted as his agents in the business.

Clarendon's scribbled comments in the margins of the memorandum indicate that he agreed with Hammond's suppositions, but that an effort must be made to continue the investigation. He suggested that Hammond make further inquiries of the naturalist Davis mentioned by Vyse in his letter of July 4.⁵⁵

A week later, on July 17, Hammond reminded Vyse by letter that the Foreign Office was still waiting for a reply regarding an explanation how the bones had been intercepted before reaching Col. Vyse's residence. He stressed that if Trone's brother had indeed intercepted them, that a criminal complaint must be lodged in order to clear up the matter.⁵⁶ Vyse took another week to respond. On July 23 he reported that he was "still persuing" his inquiries but had run up against a problem since Trone's brother, who Vyse claimed was the culprit in intercepting the bones, had apparently left the country "for either China or Japan." Vyse stated that he had written to authorities asking that he be questioned when he arrived there. Even more improbably, Vyse said that he himself was going to prosecute Trone for robbery in Hong Kong.⁵⁷ This last point was of course patently absurd since the authorities in Hong Kong had absolutely no jurisdiction over events that had taken place in Japan. If Vyse's solicitor, who continued to help him draft his replies to Whitehall did not realize this legal point, then Vyse was ill-advised. More likely, Vyse was again

throwing up another smoke screen.

The case now apparently smouldered for over a month since the British government was undergoing a political transition.⁵⁸ On September 10 Vyse informed Hammond that the Supreme Court at Shanghai (under Chief Judge Edmund Hornby) had commuted the sentences of Whitely, Trone, and Kemish. Also he enclosed a affidavit signed by the three men in January 1866 which exonerated Vyse from any implication in the disgraceful affair.⁵⁹ This latter document, like the fact that Vyse continued to correspond with Whitehall from the offices of his solicitor, must have disconcerted the Foreign Office. Lord Stanley, the new Foreign Secretary asked Hammond and E.C. Egerton, a Foreign Office legal expert to prepare separate memoranda on the Vyse affair. Both men arrived at the following conclusions independently. First, why would the three prisoners write such a document *three months before* Vyse was even implicated in the affair? Second, why had it taken eight months for Vyse to produce this affidavit? Third, hadn't Vyse himself stated on April 2 that the prisoners had engaged in "wilful falsehoods" and that he placed "no reliance in any of their representations"?⁶⁰ Fourth, apparently the three had signed this document witnessed by Vyse himself. It was not inconceivable that they had been coerced or promised something in order to get them to swear out this affidavit. Egerton concluded his memorandum: "Vyse must be relieved of his duties."⁶¹ Hammond, in his summation wrote

I have never since he began the explanations respecting this Aino [sic] bones affair, had the slightest doubt that he knew more than he chose to tell, that he constantly tried to screen the

offenders, and to impede by pretending to promote the prosecution of this inquiry.

His recommendation, as was that of Egerton, was that Vyse must be terminated.⁶²

The Foreign Office continued to correspond with Vyse regarding fine points of his now-discredited "investigation" throughout the rest of 1866. One wonders why Hammond, who had more knowledge regarding the affair than anyone, did not call Vyse on the carpet in order to resolve this distressing affair. Instead, memoranda, affidavits, and letters continued to be shuffled about⁶³ until finally in mid-October Vyse was asked to come into Whitehall where he was told — quite unofficially — that "his proceedings were viewed unfavorably at the Foreign Office." Vyse seemed surprised and asked to see Lord Stanley himself, but was told that to do so would make the interview official and require Vyse's resignation. It is clear that the Foreign Office wished Vyse to go away quietly and for the embarrassing case to similarly dissipate. But Vyse was nothing if not persistent.⁶⁴

In early November Vyse wrote to Foreign Secretary Stanley in an attempt to salvage his career. Apparently he was even willing to sacrifice his brother's good name. He now claimed that his brother had opened the cases and had on his own offered the bones to first the British Museum, where he was referred to Mr. Davis the naturalist. Vyse enclosed a copy of a letter from Trone to Col. Vyse dated March 8 identifying the bones as Ainu skeletons and asking Col. Vyse to return them to Hakodate. In this letter Trone admitted placing the bones in Capt. Vyse's cases without the latter's

knowledge.⁶⁵ A week later on November 16 Vyse again wrote to Stanley offering as evidence of his innocence a letter that Vyse had received from Whitely (who was now in England) in which he regrets that Vyse has been "harassed and annoyed by the authorities with respect to the offence committed by myself, Trone and Kemish."⁶⁶ Finally, at the end of the month (November 25) Vyse wrote to Stanley again enclosing what he purported to be a copy of a letter sent to him by Sir Edmund Hornby, the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court in Shanghai in which Hornby suggests that the Japanese Government.

Care not one straw about Ainos [sic]. But Captain Vyse H.M.'s Consul, they did not like, because he was always known to have done his duty most rigidly and conscientiously and the chance and hope of getting him into a scrape was not to be passed over.⁶⁷

Despite this barrage of letters and testimonials of his innocence, Vyse's days as a Foreign Service Officer were numbered.

Hammond was directed to write his third summary of the case. The points he found to be salient are an indication of the way the Foreign Office worked: (1) Vyse seemed to be in a hurry to acquit the prisoners in December 1865. (2) His animosity against Governor Yamatono was excessive. (3) He was obsessed with blaming the Americans Duus and Rice for the problem. His argument was the case would have been "trifling" had it not been for these men who had informed the Governor of the crime. (4) Vyse called the prisoners liars when they informed Parkes that the bones had been sent to Col. Vyse, but later attempted to use their affidavits to prove his own innocence.

(5) Trone's March 8, 1866 letter to Col. Vyse asking that the bones be returned contained no reference to the naturalist Davis, yet Vyse had claimed that he knew to recover the bones because Trone had told him in Hakodate that they were to go to Davis. (6) Vyse in his letter to Stanley of November 9 claimed that his brother had found out about Davis from the British Museum on his own. (7) Vyse claimed that Trone had "happened to find his cases not yet packed" and had secreted the bones therein. Yet Trone's March 8 letter informs Col. Vyse that Vyse had ordered him to pack up the boxes. (8) In that same letter, written by Trone before Vyse sailed from Japan, Trone assumes that Col. Vyse has the bones, yet Vyse claimed that had planned to have someone (Trone's allegedly-missing brother) intercept the bones before they reached Col. Vyse. (9) Vyse had been evasive, incomplete, and contradictory in his correspondence with the Foreign Office. (10) Vyse had begun that correspondence with the help of a solicitor. Apparently this last fact alone might have been enough to damn him in the eyes of the Foreign Office bureaucrats. Hammond concluded,

Whatever may be the degree of Captain Vyse's complicity in these transactions, whatever may be the extent of his knowledge or innocence, it is evident from his correspondence that he has shown the most culpable in-difference and negligence in clearing up this matter, and whether intentionally or not, done his best to defeat the desire of the Foreign Office to ascertain the real facts of the case.⁶⁸

Egerton concurred in much of Hammond's estimate of Vyse's actions and in a separate memorandum advised

that Vyse be asked to resign his position in the Foreign Service.⁶⁹

If Vyse's fate was already sealed at the end of November 1866, his brother provided the *coup de grace* a week later on December 5 when he paid a visit himself to Lord Stanley. In a curious *aide-memoire* titled "Statement Made to Lord Stanley by Colonel Vyse and Read Over by Lord Stanley in Colonel Vyse's Presence" the shameful truth finally was revealed. Col. Vyse made it plain that he had long expected the arrival of the bones because his brother had alerted him in a letter in which he had described

how they were got, the risk and difficulty of getting them. . . . He first wrote saying they were very valuable: I was to offer them first, to [the] British Museum, then to Mr. Davis. He said they did not belong altogether to him, there was another person who had an interest in them. After that he said I was not to sell them, there was a row about it, I was to give them away . . . [he] wrote in great pride at having got them. . . . The family tried to dispose of them thinking we were doing him a service.

The document ended "This was read over by me to Col. Vyse who acknowledge it to be accurate. [signed] Stanley"⁷⁰

That same day, after a conference with Hammond, Egerton, and legal experts in the Foreign Office Lord Stanley himself began a course of action which was as egregiously illegal and as morally reprehensible as anything that Vyse had done. In short, after having tediously uncovered Vyse's illegalities, the Foreign Office systematically swept them under the rug. In so doing, Stanley and the rest of the British Government committed international obstruction of justice. They knowingly covered up

evidence of several crimes; not in the interest of protecting one of their own, but solely to avoid the embarrassment of going to the Japanese with proof that extraterritoriality was, almost by definition, injustice personified. On that day, December 5, 1866, almost exactly a year after Whitely, Trone, and Kemish had begun the disgraceful affair, Stanley wrote to Col. Vyse requesting that he communicate with his brother that

My earnest advice to him is to send in his resignation. If he does this, this is the end of the matter; and I fear — I must add that if he does not, it will be necessary to remove him. He will probably think it better that no official sentence of removal should be passed upon him.⁷¹

Most remarkably hypocritical, however, was a letter from Stanley to Vyse himself after the latter had resigned but requested to know precisely why he could not be appointed elsewhere. Stanley reminded him that his actions were

calculated to imperil the good relations between England and Japan, derogatory to the administration of justice, over which it was your office as one of Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan to preside, and inconsistent with your duties and responsibilities as a Consular Servant of the Crown.⁷²

If Stanley and the British Government intended to preserve the "good relations" with Japan and to guarantee the "administration of justice," then the proper thing to do would have been to advise the Japanese of the whole truth and allow the aggrieved parties to make a decision whether Vyse should be prosecuted, or allowed to escape with his

freedom, if not with his career.

The reasons why the British did not might have something to do with other events transpiring in Japan at the same time, namely the seeming imminent collapse of the Tokugawa Government and also the on-going rivalry between Britain, the United States and the other European nations. The British Government was loathe to provide the Japanese Government with any reason to favor other foreign nations over Great Britain. Public knowledge of the messy Vyse Affair would certainly have done that. Also, to have admitted, even tacitly that the extraterritorial system of Consular Jurisdiction was in fact flawed and subject to many potential inequities and injustices would have undermined the Unequal Treaties themselves. To have allowed the Japanese any leverage whatever might have made Parkes' demands to the Japanese Government somewhat easier to resist. Even at this early date the Japanese were desirous of revising the treaties and this affair would have been excellent ammunition in the Japanese legal arsenal. It was proof positive that the system required amelioration; that Western justice was not by definition superior to Japanese justice. The simple truth is that it was not convenient for Britain to uphold principles of international justice, particularly when it was not in their immediate economic and political best interests.

Remarkably, this was not the end of the affair. Vyse continued to press Stanley for another chance and from time to time sent affidavits from Kemish (January 3, 1867)⁷³ and Trone (March 8, 1867)⁷⁴ attesting to Vyse's innocence. But of course they were to no avail because as far as Stanley and the Foreign

Office were concerned, the affair was all but over. All that remained to be settled and decided were minor points. In that vein Stanley wrote to Parkes to be certain that the affair had been quietly settled in Japan and also to convey to James Ensle "my strong displeasure with his conduct..." regarding the December 1865 attempt to trade the bones for the release of the Japanese servant Shotaro. He instructed Parkes to be certain that "Ensle may never, even for a trice, be left in charge of any consulate in which he may be employed..."⁷⁵ Ensle's career was so badly damaged by his ill-advised participation in the affair that he found need to petition in 1874, 1876, and again in 1879 for some redress.⁷⁶ The denouement was that Hammond, apparently tidying up in Whitehall wrote confidentially to Sir Edmund Hornby to determine if the letter that Vyse purported to be from Hornby was in fact genuine. Hammond wrote,

If the letter is yours, I am sorry to say that you have formed an incorrect estimation of Capt. Vyse's share in the Aino [sic] bones transaction. There cannot be a doubt, ... that he was from first to last party to them.⁷⁷

Hornby replied that although the letter was badly copied "full of bad grammar and ill-connected sentences," the sentiments were substantially his. Significantly, however, he went on to offer a number of interesting opinions on the whole affair. He agreed that the affair could have been settled quite amicably with "a few dollars judiciously distributed" (presumably among the Aino), had it not been for the jealous Americans who sought to undermine British authority and prestige. He stated that he felt that Vyse was unsuited for Consular duties, but that

he was very-well liked among the foreign residents in Japan.

He has all the faults of a badly-educated man whose impulses are good, but whose judgement is bad. Knowing his own faults he is blind to the faults of others and not being very certain of his own virtues, he does not expect any excess of virtue in others.⁷⁸

But what is most interesting is that quite unintentionally (and quite incorrectly) he disclosed some rather damning information. He said that he had heard unofficially that there had been a group of travelling scientists who had dug up some Aino skeletons in early 1865 and that when the American Consul (Rice) has learned of it, he had informed the Japanese Governor. In Hornby's inaccurate version, Vyse had tried to help his friends by mailing the bones out of Japan in two packages, one to his brother, and another to Paris.⁷⁹ In reality, what had happened was that there had indeed been such an expedition of foreign scientists, but in fact it had taken place a year before in 1864. Among the foreigners on this expedition was a Russian doctor named Zalesky who had carried away a skull with him to Russia, and three British residents of Hakodate: Henry Whitely, Alfred Howell,⁸⁰ and F. Howard Vyse!⁸¹

Had Hammond been more aware and perhaps more interested in following-up this new information rather than just tidying-up a very messy affair, Vyse's actions of the past eighteen months would have been made abundantly clear. First, his loyalties to his constables Trone and Kemish were misguided but perhaps understandable. He had lived with these two young men for nearly a year and probably felt paternalistic towards them.

Second, he needed to protect Whitely, because the two of them shared a guilt for the *previous* incident of grave robbing. If Whitely did not keep silent and instead pleaded either mitigating circumstances or ignorance (after all, *Her Majesty's legal representative* in Hakodate had accompanied him on the previous expedition) it is certain that Vyse's own guilt would be revealed. Third, to have sat in judgement with prejudicial knowledge was malfeasance of duty so it was necessary to continue the charade that he was a disinterested party seeking justice. Fourth, Howell had been one of the Assessors (legal witnesses) in the trial, and was himself party to the previous felony.

Any and all of this information could have ended Vyse's career. So perhaps it was worthwhile for Vyse to have struck a deal with the three prisoners. Perhaps he attempted to assure their silence in exchange for a light sentence, which he would attempt to mitigate by suborning Hornby. Perhaps an agreement to sell the skeletons and split the proceeds was made. Whatever the particulars, in the light of this information, Vyse's actions made perfect sense!

Regrettably, the actions of the Foreign Office made sense as well. They had to ferret out the misdeeds because they could not afford to have a thief, a liar, and profiteer within the service. But they were not about to give the Japanese any chance to prove that their worst fears had been realized: extraterritoriality was at best a sham, and at worst, arrogant injustice perpetuated by international treaties.

In conclusion, let us summarize this disgraceful affair by recounting the errors, misdeeds and crimes. (1) There were *at very least* three cases of grave desecra-

tion and robbery: one in 1864 when Vyse, Howell and Whitely had participated in an international (since the Russian Dr. Zalesky was among the grave-robbers) raid, and two in December 1865 by the three Englishmen. Incidentally, to add to these illegalities, the fact that none of these expeditions was sanctioned by the Japanese Government (with good reason) made them crimes against the treaties. (2) Vyse committed misfeasance of justice by attempting to finesse the Governor with a quick trial without Ainu witnesses and then an appeal to double jeopardy. (3) Vyse tried to move the case out of Hakodate to Yokohama, probably in hopes that Yamatono would forget or that Parkes would bury the matter. In the light of the recent Order in Council, this was also misfeasance. It was at least studied incompetence. (4) Vyse apparently in January or February 1866 found out that the bones had been secreted in his curio crates and made some kind of arrangement to dispose of them through his brother. This can at best be interpreted as being an accessory to a crime after the fact, but also as conspiracy to defraud and conspiracy to commit the felony of international theft. (5) Trone and Kemish interfered with the lawful arrest of a Japanese citizen by Japanese police when they attempted to protect their servant Shotaro. It was a clear case of attempted obstruction of justice. Their claim that Shotaro was extraterritorialized was obstruction of justice as well. (6) Enslie tried to extort the release of Shotaro in exchange for the return of the skeletons. This was a multiple-transgression in that he was knowingly shielding the criminals by refusing to divulge how he had come to know the whereabouts of the bones; but he was also

guilty of extortion in demanding Shotaro's release. As a British Consular Officer he was bound by law and by treaty to surrender the bones to the Governor and to arrest the culprits. (7) Vyse attempted to suborn supreme Court Justice Hornby while he was in Shanghai. This was possibly part of his arrangement with Trone, Kemish and Whitely. (8) When Hornby wrote to Clarendon expressing his opinion of the case before it came to him on appeal he was perhaps still within the limits of the law, but certainly not within the bounds of propriety. When he reviewed the three Englishmen's case on appeal, he was guilty of misfeasance in that he did not disqualify himself as prejudiced. (9) The Foreign Office committed a series of crimes of misfeasance and malfeasance by ferreting-out this litany of lies and misdeeds and then obstructing justice by sweeping them under the carpet. Her Majesty's servants at Whitehall were bound by British law and international treaties to administer and facilitate justice. By not prosecuting Vyse, or Enslie for that matter, they broke several

laws. (10) Add to this the various affidavits that Vyse, Enslie, Whitely, Trone, and Kemish had falsely sworn to, the list of crimes seems almost interminable.

This grisly little incident admittedly pales in comparison with the Elgin Marbles, or the sacking of Egyptian, Inca, Mayan, and Etruscan tombs to mention but a few more notable examples of grave desecration, but it serves as an excellent reminder of the cultural arrogance is not an international crime, but in retrospect this can be the only explanation for this curious affair. Perhaps the British physician who came to Japan in the 1860's to serve the British Consular Service and the foreign community at large best summed up the problem when he wrote

We may disguise it as we like, we are a set of tyrants from the moment on Eastern soil and we cannot help it, it is I fear inherent in the nature of things; the less civilized man must suffer in the ratio of his ignorance by intercourse with his more intelligent brothers.⁸²

ENDNOTES

¹ For instance in English there is only James Hoare's informal paper, "Mr. Enslie's Grievances: The Consul, the Ainu and the Bones," *Japan Society of London Bulletin*, 78, March 1976, and a few paragraphs in Pat Barr's *The Coming of the Barbarians: A Story of Western Settlement in Japan, 1853-1870*, London, 1967 and John R. Black's *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo, 1858-1879*, 2 Vols. London, 1883. In Japanese the affair is mentioned in passing in numerous general histories. The best treatment using British sources are in Otsuka's *Bakumatsu gaikoshi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1952 and Volume 2 of *Hokkaido-shi*, (7 Vols.) Tokyo, 1937.

² James C. Thomson, Jr., Peter W. Stanley, and John Curtis Perry, *Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia*, New York, 1981, p. 69.

³ See Louis G. Perez, "Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the 'Unequal Treaties,'" Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1986; and F. C. Jones, *Extraterritoriality in Japan: And the Diplomatic Relations Resulting in its Abolition, 1853-1899*. New Haven, Conn., 1931.

⁴ Paul Blum writes about Yokohama, but is even more apt for Hakodate, "This was a small community in which everyone knew everyone else . . . and where there were few secrets." Paul C.

Blum, *Yokohama in 1872, A Rambling Account of the Community in Which the Asiatic Society of Japan was Founded*, Tokyo, 1963, p. 20.

- ⁵ Meeting some Ainu in 1859 Captain Henry Holmes wrote "I took them to be Jews by their physiognomy and aquiline nose. Maybe they are part of the Lost Tribe." Quoted in Hugh Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: In and Around the Treaty Ports*, London, 1987 p. 37.
- ⁶ Pat Barr in *The Coming of the Barbarians*, p. 184 states that it was rumored that the British Museum would pay 2,000 Pounds Sterling for a complete Ainu female skeleton. John Reddle Black states that it was a \$2,000 bounty, *Young Japan*, p. 51.
- ⁷ Foreigners were limited to a 10-ri (about 25 miles) radius of any treaty port except by express written permission of the Japanese Government. Mori was 12 ri (30 miles) from Hakodate and therefore outside the legal limits allowed by treaty. See Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, London, 1888, p. 319 for a description of Mori a decade later.
- ⁸ Pat Barr, *The Coming of the Barbarians*, p. 117.
- ⁹ Quoted in Cortazzi, *Victorians*, p. 37
- ¹⁰ Quoted in Barr, *Coming of Barbarians*, p. 117.
- ¹¹ Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan 1858-1883*, Oxford, 1969, p. 344, see also Cortazzi, *Victorians*, p. 44
- ¹² Quoted in Hugh Cortazzi, *Mitford's Japan*, p. 11.
- ¹³ Barr, *Coming of Barbarians*, p. 114.
- ¹⁴ Whitely had worked extensively with the famous ornithologist Thomas Wright Blakiston who had collected 1,314 species of birds while he was in Hakodate. Fox, *Britain and Japan*, pp. 349-350.
- ¹⁵ John Reddie Black suggests that the Japanese probably jumped at the opportunity to administer a dose of the foreigner's own medicine since earlier that year the French Government had complained of Japanese desecration of French graves at Shimonoseki. Black, *Young Japan*, pp. 52-53.
- ¹⁶ Vyse, an Army captain, had come to Japan from Shanghai with British Minister Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1859. Vyse had served as the first British Consul at Yokohama-Kanagawa until 1864 when he had been transferred to Hakodate. See Montague Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868*, Kobe, 1930, p. 228. See also Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon; A Narrative of Three Years' Residence in Japan*, 2 Vols. New York, 1863, vol. 1 p. 315 and vol. 2, p. 185, Cortazzi, *Victorians* pp. 44, 56, 68, and 74, and Paul C. Blum, *Yokohama in 1872, A Rambling Account of the Community in Which the Asiatic Society of Japan was Founded*, Tokyo, 1963, for other tid-bits of his career in Japan.
- ¹⁷ *Foreign Office Correspondence, Japan*, (hereafter abbreviated as FO 46/88) "Minutes of a Meeting Between Vyse and Governor of Hakodate" December 13, 1865, pp. 31-34.
- ¹⁸ Parkes, an orphan, had come to China to seek his fortune at age 15. He had acquired a remarkable command of the Chinese language and had survived capture and torture at Chinese hands. He had come to Japan as Minister in 1865 at age 35. A remarkable person, his biography is Francis V. Dickens, with Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 Vol., London 1894.
- ¹⁹ The Supreme Court had only that year been established in Shanghai. Prior to that consular courts would appeal first to the British Consul-General at Edo and eventually to London.
- ²⁰ Kemish and Trone tried to prevent Shotaro's arrest on the grounds that he was extraterritorialized by virtue of his employment with a British consular officer (this was an incorrect interpretation of the treaties). There was a brief struggle until the Japanese policemen drew their swords. See FO 46/88 April 15, 1866 Parkes to Clarendon, pp. 117-124.
- ²¹ FO 46/88 Vyse to Parkes December 20, 1866, p. 166. Apparently Ensle had allowed Kemish and Trone to store a package at his residence on December 13 immediately after the grave desecration and two days before the Governor lodged the original complaint. On December 19 Trone told Ensle what was in the package. See Trone and Kemish's affidavit in *ibid* February 20, 1866, p. 241 and Ensle's letter to Parkes on February 28, pp. 229-240.

- ²² He made formal written requests on December 23 and again December 27. FO 46/88 Yamatono to Vyse p. 101.
- ²³ FO 46/88 Vyse to Parkes January 8, 1866, pp. 169-176.
- ²⁴ Whitely was sentenced to twelve months, Trone and Kemish received an additional month for their attempts to free their servant Shotaro. FO 46/88 pp. 177-181. See also Vyse to Yamatono, February 22, 1866, p. 127.
- ²⁵ He was probably essentially correct in this assertion. The Japanese treated the Ainu with unconcealed contempt. Bird often commented on the bad treatment of the Ainu whom she described as "uncivilisable and altogether irreclaimable savages, yet they are attractive and in some ways fascinating . . ." Bird, *Tracks*, p. 255.
- ²⁶ FO 46/88 Vyse to Parkes, December 19, 1865, p. 7.
- ²⁷ Ibid, Vyse to Parkes December 13, 1865, pp. 31-34.
- ²⁸ Ibid, Vyse to Parkes pp. 46-48.
- ²⁹ The Fourth Earl of Clarendon, born George William Frederick Villiers.
- ³⁰ FO 46/88 Parkes to Clarendon January 30, 1866, p. 92.
- ³¹ Ibid, Parkes to Clarendon April 15, 1866, pp. 203-210.
- ³² Ibid, Parkes to Clarendon, p. 2.
- ³³ Ibid, Parkes to Japanese Foreign Ministry April 9, 1866, pp. 195-201. The Japanese Government at this time had a plethora of problems at hand especially the pending second punitive expedition against Choshu. This period in Japanese history is commonly called "Bakumatsu" — literally "the end of the military (Tokugawa) government." See Albert M. Craig, *Choshu in the Meiji Restoration*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 302-338 for an account of these years.
- ³⁴ Vyse himself had lead an armed group of foreigners to the aid of the mortally-wounded Richardson who had been brutally cut down by a party of Satsuma samurai. See Ernest M. Satow's excellent account in *A Diplomat in Japan*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 51-53. He had also been among those foreign consuls designated to officially witness the execution of Kamachi Gempachi and Inaba Ushijiro, two Japanese vagrants implicated in the 1864 murders of Lt. Bird and Major Baldwin. See Harold S. Williams and Hiroshi Naito, *The Kamakura Murders of 1864*, Tokyo, 1971, p. 71.
- ³⁵ Parkes was called by a contemporary, "a living and breathing thorn in the side of Japan." E.H. House, *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, Tokyo, 1875, p. 5. See Perez, *Mutsu*, pp. 121-124 for a discussion of Parkes' high-handed attitude toward the Japanese.
- ³⁶ See William G. Beasley, *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853-1868*, London, 1955, pp. 290-305 for a synopsis of the history of this period, especially Parkes' handling of the Osaka Convention.
- ³⁷ FO 46/88 Parkes to Vyse January 30, 1866, p. 81.
- ³⁸ Rice was almost universally despised by all the foreign residents of Japan. After a series of unsavory scrapes he was dismissed in disrepute. See Philip N. Daré, "John A. Bingham and Treaty Revision with Japan," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1975.
- ³⁹ FO 46/88 Howell to Vyse March 7, 1866, pp. 275-276. See also: February 17 Parkes to Vyse, pp. 263-265; February 21 Vyse to Rice, pp. 267-268; February 24 Rice to Vyse, pp. 269-270; February 24 Vyse to Rice, pp. 271-2; February 25 Rice to Vyse, pp. 273-274; April 16 Vyse to Clarendon, p. 261-262; and June 20 Clarendon to Vyse, p. 292.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, March 1, 1866, p. 158. See also Vyse to Rice March 1, p. 26 and Vyse to Yamatono, pp. 185-186.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, Parkes to Japanese Foreign Ministry April 9, 1866, p. 159. See also: February 22 Vyse to Yamatono, p. 127; February 27, p. 147; February 28 Vyse to Parkes, p. 154; March 1 Yamatono to Vyse, p. 192-193; March 2 Yamatono to Vyse, pp. 187-188; March 3 Enslie to Parkes, p. 189-191; and March 8 Vyse to Parkes, p. 144.

- ⁴² Ibid, Vyse to Parkes March 8, 1866, p. 144. Vyse also complained about Yamatono's abusive and disrespectful language and manner.
- ⁴³ Ibid, Parkes to Clarendon January 30, 1866, p. 92.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, March 31 pp. 251-256. See also April 16 Parkes to Clarendon, pp. 245-250.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid, Vyse to Parkes April 2, 1866, p. 257-259.
- ⁴⁶ Hornby formerly was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Constantinople for ten years. Although he certainly had ample reason to boast, since he had a hand in the foundation of three International courts (Constantinople, Shanghai and later wrote the plan that became the basis for the World Court at the Hague), his autobiography is less than dependable. For example he claims to have engineered the Japanese response to the *Maria Luz* Affair when in reality E. Peshine Smith was the one who assisted the Japanese in this seminal international law case. See Hornby's *Autobiography*, particularly pp. xiii and 301-308 and compare with Deborah C. Church "The Role of the American Diplomatic Advisers to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, 1872-1887," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1978. Interestingly, Hornby does not mention the Vyse affair in his memoirs.
- ⁴⁷ FO 46/88 Hornby to Clarendon April 20, 1866, pp. 280-281.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid, June 27, 1866, pp. 304-305.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid, Clarendon to Hammond, June 29, 1866 pp. 305-307.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, Hammond to Vyse July 3, 1866, pp. 308-309.
- ⁵¹ The Foreign Office had asked the Customs Service to quietly investigate the shipment of Vyse's boxes on June 6, 1866. FO 46/88 pp. 284-285. The Customs Office replied that they could not determine who shipped the boxes from Japan "without raising suspicion" but provided the information as to who had accepted and cleared the boxes through customs in England. See Ibid, June 9, 1866, pp. 286-289.
- ⁵² Ibid, Vyse to Hammond July 4, 1866 pp. 310-312.
- ⁵³ Ibid, Hammond to Vyse July 5, 1866, p. 313.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid, Vyse to Hammond July 10, 1866, pp. 315-316.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid, Hammond Memorandum July 12, 1866, pp. 317-330. I can find no record of correspondence or mention of such an interview with the naturalist Davis.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, Hammond to Vyse July 17, 1866, pp. 333-335.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, Vyse to Hammond July 23, 1866, p. 337-340.
- ⁵⁸ Actually the Second Russell Ministry had resigned in June, but the Third Derby Ministry did not begin until July 6. Clarendon continued as Foreign Secretary until the Earl of Derby's son, Lord Edward Henry Stanley assumed the portfolio. The remarkable thing about Whitehall is that the career Foreign Ministry officers like Hammond gave it tremendous stability and continuity, particularly in dealing with "minor" countries such as Japan was at this time. When Stanley came in Hammond was available to inform him of the details without much interruption.
- ⁵⁹ FO 46/88 Vyse to Hammond September 10, 1866, pp. 346-353.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid, Vyse to Parkes April 2, 1866, pp. 257-259.
- ⁶¹ Ibid, Egerton memorandum, September 20, 1866, pp. 355-360.
- ⁶² He also suggested that Vyse's claim that he would prosecute Trone in Hong Kong "There never was a more stupid attempt to deceive." Ibid, Hammond Memorandum, September 20, 1866, pp. 361-365.
- ⁶³ See for example Ibid, Egerton to Vyse, September 24, 1866, pp. 367-368; Vyse to Egerton October 3, 1866, p. 368; and the undated memorandum to Hammond from Stanley, , pp. 371-372.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, October 15, 1866 memorandum, pp. 375-377.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, Vyse to Stanley November 9, 1866, pp. 396-401.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, Vyse to Stanley November 16, 1866, pp. 392-395.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, Vyse to Stanley November 25, 1866 pp. 473.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, Hammond Memorandum November 18, 1866, pp. 402-432.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, Egerton Memorandum November 22, 1866, pp. 43-47.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 439-440.

⁷¹ Ibid, Stanley to Col. Vyse December 5, 1866, pp. 444-445.

⁷² Ibid, Stanley to Vyse December 10, 1866, pp. 456-458. Incredibly, Vyse in effect called his own brother a liar, contesting the Colonel's version of the affair. See Col. Vyse's letter to Stanley December 9, 1866, pp. 454-455.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 464.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 480-481.

⁷⁵ Ibid, Stanley to Parkes January 7, 1867, p. 470.

⁷⁶ See the above-mentioned article Enslie for a discussion of his later career. James Hoare, "Mr. Enslie's Grievances: The Consul, the Ainu and the Bones," *Japan Society of London Bulletin*, 78, March 1976, pp. 14-19.

⁷⁷ FO 46/88 Hammond to Hornby January 24, 1867, pp. 478-479.

⁷⁸ Ibid, Hornby to Hammond March 23, 1867, pp. 482-498.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 498.

⁸⁰ Howell was still in Hakodate in 1872 when Hornby visited there, and fittingly, took Hornby on a visit to an Ainu village. Hornby, *Autobiography*, p. 335.

⁸¹ John Reddie Black recounts the story in his *Young Japan*, p. 51. Pat Barr also mentions the affair in *Coming of the Barbarians*, and suggests that the grave robbers "were shunned even by the broad-minded settlers for this odious deed . . .", p. 185.

⁸² Quoted in Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan*, p. 61.

Some Poems by Hagiwara Sakutaro

*Graeme Wilson**

At a Corner of the Barley Field

With an utterly honest mind
I'd like now to declare
Certainties, things signed
With the undodgeable
Thereness of things there.

What once I saw, the shined
Gel of the atmosphere,
I'd like to tell so clearly
You can but share the sight.

Things of this kind
Assume all kinds of elaborate
Clothes; and emit, like waves
Of wind on barley, light.

God-waste, they are; gods nearly,
Things from enormous caves.

Being Afraid of the Country

I'm frightened of the country,
Of the long thin lines of seedlings
That tremble in the rice-fields
Of its cold inhuman tract;
I'm frightened of the wretched
Jumble of human creatures
Deep in their gloomy dwellings
Impenetrably packed.

By the fieldpath in the country
A tidal-wave of sadness,
Heavy as soil is heavy,
Hangs huge above my heart.
The smell of earth gone rotten
Darkens my skin. The shrivelled
Loneliness of winter
Is chilblain to the heart.

The very air of the country
Is shadowy and heavy:
The texture of the country
Is animal and coarse.
Whenever I remember
The brutalising country
I'm bruised by rough-skinned stench,
The reek of hare and horse.

I'm frightened of the country's
Cold echo of my soulscape,
Its pale ferocious nightmare
Of terrapins and trees.
I'm frightened of the country,
That terrible dis-order,
That sick hallucination
From some feverish disease.

Birds

Tingles of finger-tip
Signal the coming night.

As one descends the slope,
Flight upon flight,
Shining, the birds pass overhead
At day's enormous height.

By the River Tone

This little wood, this copse of withren
pine,
Was where I used to walk. Look, even
now
From cold dim depths the same small
mushrooms shine.

On my way here, again I noticed how
Pasania-fruits lie tumbled in the road
And how, clear white beyond the pines'

dark flank,
The river flows as once, how white, it
flowed;
How, here and there along its sandy
bank,
The ant-lions' funnelled traps have all
caved in.

The lines of small bent pines seem
strained to blue.

And somewhere there, hear where the
trees begin,
You'll find the stones on which, the
whole day through,
I used to sit, wearing my poet's face,
To spout my earliest verses. Here I
brought
The first girls whom I loved. And this
same place
Soaked up the tears my father's angers
wrought.
I remember the very tree to whose
rough deal,
Longing for one lost woman, I clung
tight.

Looked back upon, these things seem
scarcely real:
Yet, now as then, the river runs clear
white.

Double Feature

In the darkness of a cinema
In a sleazy part of town
A white dog without ears was killed,
Boot-brutally tramped down.

The ghost of that white earless dog
In after-throes of pain
Appeared upon the silver screen
Over and over again.

Early Summer

The blood of insects runs and seeps;
And semen, oozing everywhere,
Slimes brilliance on the land.

Between her fingers' whitenesses
A thin gold coin slips,
Slides down upon my hand.

Time, the beginning of May.

The limbs of the very young trees
Swim out upon the square,
And their little shoots make spray
Like bird-chirps on the air.

Look, how exquisitely
The view comes floating by:
With a riveriness how supple
The landscape streams away
Into that clear blue sky
Where, with extraordinary
Clearness, it reflects
Shadows: the shadows of people.

Field Landscape

At the tip of a fishing-pole
Bent round to halve an O,
One minnow jittering
As though electrified.

An old man with his whole
Bent body glittering
In the transforming flow
Of an enormous pride.

But all that countryside
Numb in the summer's warm
Incurious coma lay:
Even the cow that stood
Pat on a distant farm
Stared off the other way.

Hagitei Inn

Is boyhood not sixth-sensitive?

Now, staying by chance on the second
floor

Of Hagitei Inn, I feel once more
Sick beyond saying of the life I live.

In the garden of the inn the plants grow
thick,
Thick and unkempt. And the wind goes
by.

This sullen shuffling of the leaves,
Is it perhaps that person I,
When but a boy, long waited for?
For whom, with adult passion ailing
Under these same oppressive eaves,
I yearned from this same second floor?
Whose name my pencil, passion-sick,
Scored in the board of this weak railing?

Howling at the Moon

A dog is howling at the moon.
It is that dog's own shadow
Which rolls its eyeballs white.

A tremble of pure terror,
That shadow on the darkened earth
Shakes out the shapes of fright.

But the dog howls on at something
Inconceivably distant
In the pale blue moonlit night.

Idealism

So hard one year's for heart's sky-city,
The violence of that yearning forces
Rainbows up to lid the real
Activities of men and horses.

Persons Who Dig the Ground

All those who stir
From earth's green sepulchre
Wake only to begin
Digging back in.

Red Light District

Fenced off behind its palings of tall
board
How glumly shadowed is this pleasure-
ward,

This Yoshiwara.

Through a vacant lot
Staked with a single almost-living tree
The dark ditch wanders, slowly and
sluggishly,

While, all around, the heavy air hangs
shot

With the stench of white carbolics. Like
a dead

Frog on some wet embankment spread
White belly upward, so this district lies
Sprawled for the louche inspection of
the skies.

Inside the sad enclosure of that fence
I heard the girl whose body's eloquence
Best answers mine, weep bitterly and
late.

Yet later, lying in the sooted gleam
Of one electric bulb, she blew the steam
From indigestible noodles, and then ate;
Ate as though eating held the world
together.

Do come again, she paused to beg me,
please.

Even on days of that most ugly weather,
The weather of one's innermost despair,
Her photograph, like some old bill-of-
fare

Sepia with sadness, smiles from the
brothel board;

One among fifty more, their modest
fees

Nailed for inspection.

Vacant, and always there.

Rotten Chrysanthemum

That chrysanthemum gone sour
Aches and agonizes, drips
Rancidities of dying flower
From tatterdemalion petal-tips
Where, look, already frost begins
To crinkle into crawls of white.

My platinum hand is wilting, skin's
Numb to the cold November light
And, as I hone my fingers, look,
These talons, to be picking-shapes,
That soured chrysanthemum escapes,
Dares, as I watch, to deliquesce
Into some shining heaven-nook
Sebaceous with pure rottenness.

Scene of the Crime

Inside that house a wounded man is
dying.

Of aluminium was the building built:
Its window-frames were made triangular
To counter-balance an intrinsic tilt.

A thin snow flutters down. A cherry-
tree

Blooms white as blue. In pitiful small
bits

The smashed glass scattered on the
floorboards fits
Its patient role of waiting to be proof.

In the first floor's *Room To Let* there's
a metal chair;
And a black cat's curled, like conscience,
on the roof.

Shining Hand

From the middle of the sand on the
family grave,

Shining, a wrist appears:

A dead wax hand whose weight some
white

Bright rheumatism rears
With rotted fingers sadly stiff
Like broken barley-ears.

Ah, always in my morne home-town
How palely life proceeds.

In my live hand the autumn grasses
Wither, and wither weeds:

Things become blue; cold glow-worm
lights

Freckle the corpse like seeds,
And all day long the tombstone aches...

Look, from the grave's decay
Shine silver gloves whose fingers open,
Granite rots away
And bright rheumatic kinly hands
Claw for the light of day.

Shining in the Sky

The day when my grief was violent,
That was the day
When my rotted tooth was yanked out
sharply

And floated away
Over the tablelands to heaven.

Like the tip of a prong
All day long it blazed with anger,
All day long.

Look, up there in the clouding heavens,
Hurting one's eyes,
A tiny golden insect sparkles,
Electrifies
With its stark bare spark the mid-air
waste
And the darkening skies.

Sparrows

There is a shiningness
In the far-away night-sky
That shines like the sound of a bell.

From the shimmering willow-tree
All wet with its willowiness,
From the life ablaze in me,
White sparrows seem to spurt
As though primordial hurt,
The yerd-wince, should compel
Creation to let fly.

They flare from the tree-tops, caper
Into the shining sky
Like a tearing-up of paper.

To Be A Girl

If I were a girl, I'd pat white powder
All over my body. I'd play on my own
Always. Always.

Among thick bushes
Where nobody passes I'd crouch right
down

And lie like a rabbit that warms itself
In the winter sun. My smell would be
The smell of the rustle of slow dried
grasses,

That clean dead smell which pleases
me.

On moonlit night, blue nights of sadness,
I yearn to be dead, to be lying there
A cold white corpse whose pure-white
limbs,

White arms and legs spread bonely bare,
Eerily gleam in the moon's blue-silver.

But to be a girl, with a Western dress,
A pretty girl in a haze of powder,
That would be pure happiness.

Under Green Shadow

Cool on the dish, cold cuts of morning
meat.
The budgie twitters from the wineglass-
rim.

Hiding themselves in summer leaves'
disreet
Laburnum-gloom, what chilly talk is
theirs
Who creak so close within that arbour's
dim
Flutter of sunlight over rattan chairs?

The fountain's brilliant water flashes
high
And scatters wide. A light wind stains
this place
With scents of saffron inexcusably
Appropriate to the pallor of our case.

What should I say, who, unaccountably,
Think of Venetian carnivals? And why
Are not the swallows' shadows on the
sea
Reflected, love, in your sea-liquid eye?

Our talking, from the first, was like the
touch
Of faint green taws, glissades of glas-
siness.

Not much we dare to say, not saying
much,
We watch the leaves' green shadows
blown about
The white wet pavement of this cool
recess:
Just you and I, tears welling sadly out.

Useless Book

I saw a man of pallidness
Selling books in the street:
I heard him crying like a fighting-cock
With his ribs all thin.

I once was a man of uselessness.
This was a useless book.
It should be sold to someone
For one hundredth of a yen.

On a cold day close to winter,
Wearing a lined kimono,
The destitution of my lack of being
Has turned, inside me, sour.

How, shedding tears and feeling
In these old yellowish pages
Passion for what impassioned me
Once, o how should I dare
So to keep talking of my lonely life?

My understanding empties:
All that I have is nothing:
There's nothing really there.

What should be bought should be
bought.

Though the pedestrians run
And, as they scatter, wind
Whips up its scrolls of sand,
My ancient lines of thought,
All that I felt and thought,
Writhe into life again.

Look,
This is a useless book
And should be sold to someone
For one hundredth of one yen.

White Cock

I am that country fowl which, from the
yard
Of some poor farm, first squawks the
day alert
Then through the hedge, its weak wings
flapping hard,
Flusters to peck dead insects from the
dirt.

Through shadows cast by the winter

sun's red ball,
Stabbing the earth's dried grass for
shrivelled things,
I am a sickliness, the gist of all
That's sad and white and useless as these
wings.

I am a wretched country fowl. Beyond
The roofs, the hedge, the graveyard, the
green pond

I am the jerking of a rusted clock.
Trembling and squawking where the
long field ends,

I am that broken sun-dial which
subtends

Time's weak white shadow as a country
cock.

Will With Teeth

As evening turns true dark,
Unwaveringly,
Sheer Will, like some slow shark,
Comes swimming from the sea;
And with real razor teeth
Rips up reality.

World of Bacteria

Bacteria legs, bacteria mouths,
Bacteria ears, bacteria noses,
Everywhere bacteria swim.

Some in the seedy wombs of women,
Some in the guts of clam-fish, some
Softly in the whitely dim
Hearts of onions, some in landscapes,
Everywhere bacteria swim.

Bacteria hands reach left and right
Interweaving, each strained finger
Fining down to end in slim
Root-capillaries webbing over
The fingernail's sharp raggedy rim.

Everywhere bacteria swim.

Look, in the world of these bacteria,
 As through panes of leper skin,
 Vermilion light, vermilion light,
 Thinly shining, glimmers in;
 And in that film of crimson shimmer,
 Barely visible, redly dim,
 Sad, sad, sad, unbearably sad,
 Everywhere bacteria swim.

Zoo

When lonelinesses pressed me scorching-
 ly
 I came alone to wander in the zoo,
 Under its leafless trees. Wan lids drawn
 to,
 All the fierce brutes of that menagerie
 Who, with their suffering, repay their
 keep
 Lay caged and cold and sullenly asleep.

 Eating the man-flung meat, in their wet
 blue
 Pupils of insane instinct one can see
 Confinement's anguish brimming
 beastlily.
 Ah, what a gloomy day. To this glum
 zoo,

Maimed as I am in my own manacles,
 I had not come to gape at animals.

Cramped in the hungry confines of my
 heart
 Continuous anger snarls: it snaps and
 growls
 At that round which, alas, my lust still
 prowls.
 How lonely vengeance is. How dark
 the hurt
 The hurtful do themselves, who weakly
 plunge
 Into the sullen jungles of revenge.

Now, as the autumn day burns sadly
 out
 And night-winds churn the dead leaves
 jerkily
 Down the deserted paths, I yearn to be
 Turned to a bird, that my despair might
 sprout
 Wings and my earth-bound dirtinesses
 rise
 White through the endless sadness of
 the skies.

Notes on Hagiwara Sakutaro

Hagiwara Sakutaro (1886-1942) is now generally recognized as the best poet to have emerged in Japan since contact was re-established with the outside world in 1868. While still very young, he published poems in the then leading and avant-garde magazine *Myojo* (*Bright Star*); but suddenly in 1913 he began writing the astonishingly original poetry later collected into his first book *Tsuki ni Hoeru* (*Barking at the Moon*) of 1917. Though these poems reflected Western influences, nothing quite like them had ever been written, anywhere, before. He is often, somewhat unfairly, called the Japanese Baudelaire; but if one is to indulge in such cross-cultural inter-medial references, a better comparison would be with the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch, whose masterpiece *The Scream* echoes Hagiwara's poetic agonies. Neurasthenic in the extreme, his characteristic work was the first successful exploitation of the spoken Japanese language and contrived to express traditional Japanese intensity of feeling (*kokoro*) in forms and at lengths adapted from European practice. His poems were the complete fulfillment in the poetic field of the progressive Meiji slogan *Wakon yosai* (*Japanese spirit and Western learning*). It is often said, especially by Westerners, that East and West will never understand each other; but Hagiwara (like so many others of the most able of his generation) did achieve understanding of the West, only to find it wanting. His later years (aptly summarized in the title of his last book of essays, *Return to Japan*) were a struggle to re-integrate himself with Japanese culture, and involved renewed writing of *tanka*, even *haiku*; but he had become so entrammelled with Western learning that his own return to Japan proved a failure, and he lived out his final years in the devastated solitude of an habitually drunken double-exile.